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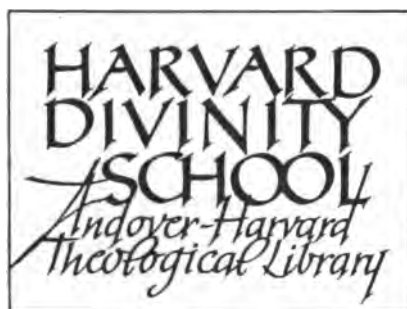
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L I F E
OF
WILLIAM SANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.

THE *Samuel Prince.*
L I F E
OF
WILLIAM SANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

COMPILED PRINCIPALLY FROM ORIGINAL AND SCARCE DOCUMENTS.

WITH
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
FUR PRÆDESTINATUS, MODERN POLICIES, AND THREE
SERMONS BY ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.
ALSO,
A LIFE OF THE LEARNED HENRY WHARTON;
AND
TWO LETTERS OF DR. SANDERSON,
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT
LAMBETH PALACE.

BY
GEORGE D'OYLY, D.D. F.R.S.
DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY; RECTOR OF LAMBETH, AND OF
SUNDRIDGE IN KENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. II.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.
1821.

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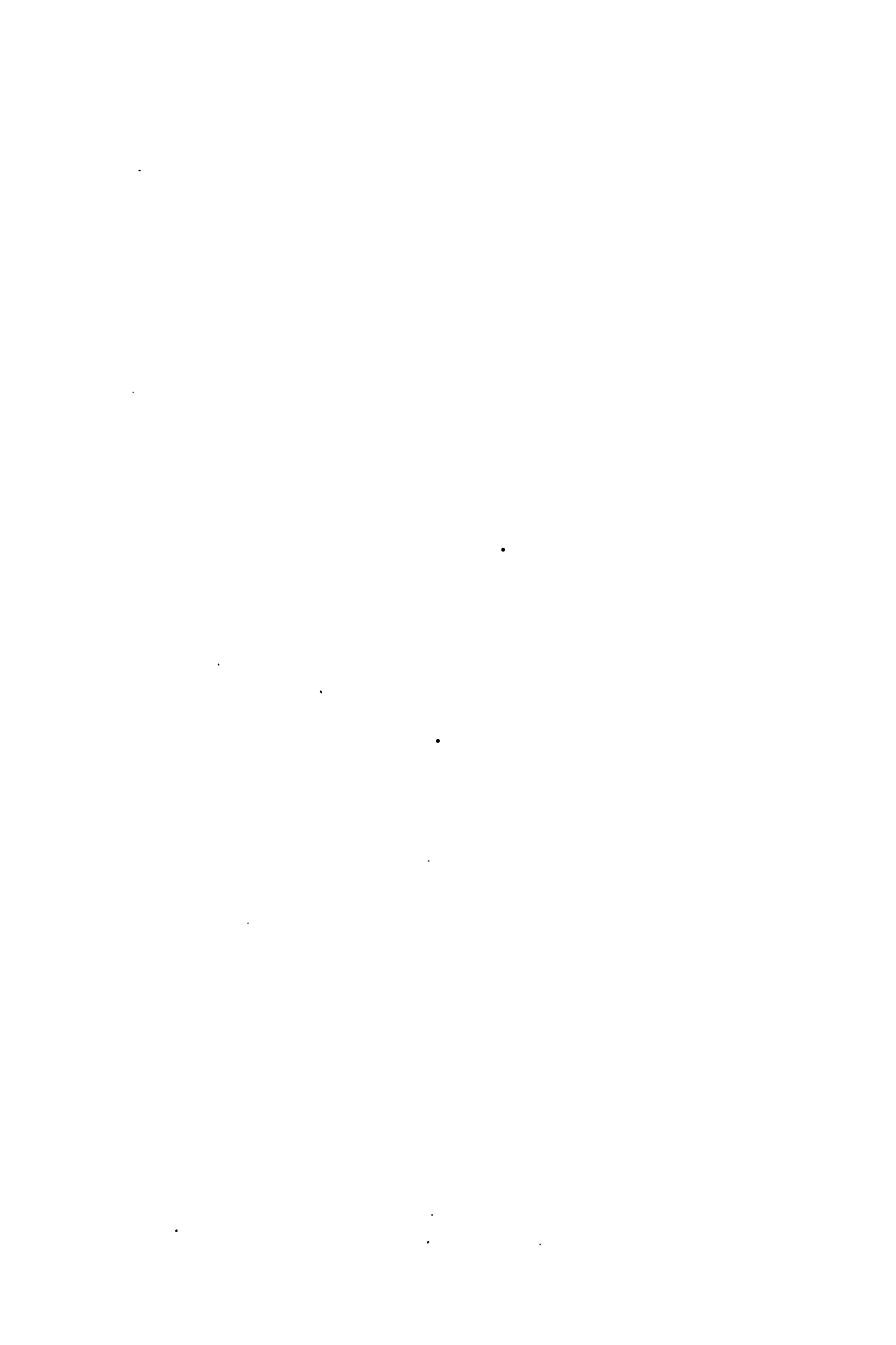
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L I F E

OF

ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

CHAPTER XI.

His Retirement to Fresingfield—Familiar Letters—Forgery of his Name to a pretended Plot—Formal Abdication of his Archiepiscopal Powers—Consecration of Nonjuring Bishops—Literary Employment—Last Illness—Death—Epitaph.

IN attending Archbishop Sancroft in his change from the Palace at Lambeth to his private house at Fresingfield, we arrive at that period of his life, in which the view presented of his habits and character is by far the most interesting and pleasing. We have already traced him in his progress from the more private walks of life to the highest station in the church, rising by the natural buoyancy of high merit and upright principles. We have seen him uniformly following the path of conscience and of duty, obeying the dictates of a firm and honest

mind, neither swayed on any occasion by the temptations of interest, nor awed by the frowns of power, and always steadily persevering in that course which he knew to be right. We now behold him impelled by the dictates of the same honest and upright mind to divest himself of rank, wealth, and power, from regard to his sworn allegiance to the very prince which he had resolutely opposed when his sense of duty commanded him; and voluntarily retiring into the privacy of a humble station. It has ever been deemed a clear proof of true greatness of mind, to bear a change from lofty to humbler fortunes with equal temper and contented resignation; and perhaps it might be difficult to find a stronger instance than that now before us, in which this greatness of mind is portrayed in its brightest colours, and with its most attractive characters.

Respecting the fundamental principle on which Archbishop Sancroft acted on this occasion, and the rule by which he formed his conscience, it is well known that the opinions of the vast majority of the nation were formed in opposition to the line which he took, and that this decision has been confirmed by the almost unanimous consent of succeeding times. It was held at the time, and may be justified on the soundest principles, that, the king having,

by a series of illegal measures of government, broken the compact between himself and the people, and having abdicated the throne, the high authorities of the state, acting in the name of the whole nation, had a right to transfer the sovereignty to another; and that, when this was done, and the oath of allegiance to the former sovereign declared by the power which imposed it to be no longer binding, the subject was in conscience absolved from adhering to it. But, allowing that he formed his conscience by a mistaken rule, it admits of no doubt, that, when he had so formed it, he was bound, as a sincere and honest man, faithfully to adhere to it, and steadily to act upon it. He did so act, not with hesitation and reluctance, but with a prompt and vigorous and steadfast decision; not looking back with weak and fond regret to the high station from which he had fallen, but glorying in the part which he had taken; clinging to his humble fortune with a relish of more true satisfaction than he appears ever to have derived from his elevated condition; and, above all, raising his desires from earth to heaven, and looking forward with firm but humble hope to a sure recompense in another world, for those sacrifices which he made to conscience and to duty in the present.

It fortunately happens, that a few of his let-

ters,* written during the period of his retirement, have been preserved, which convey to us the knowledge of his temper, feelings, and habits, at the time; and that we also possess an account of his last sickness and death,† which, though coming, no doubt, from a partial hand, still bears every mark of faithfulness; and affords some very interesting particulars respecting his behaviour, at the very close of his life.

He arrived at Fresingfield from London, as has been stated, on the 5th of August, 1691. Two days afterwards, Mr. Wharton, his chaplain, waited on him, and found him, as he expresses it, pleasant and very well. It appears, that, in contemplation of his retiring to his native spot, the Archbishop had been employed from the early part of this year, in building a residence for himself, at the end of the garden belonging to the old residence of the family, This new house was as yet in an unfinished state, and was not fit for his reception till the following summer.

Of the following letters, addressed to his friend, Sir H. North, the first, as appears from

* See Familiar Letters to Sir H. North.

† See a Letter out of Suffolk to a friend in London, giving some account of the last sickness and death of Archbishop Sancroft. London, 1694. Supposed to be written by an eminent nonjuror, Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe.

the date, was written a week after his arrival at the place of his retreat, and the rest, within the first year. They exhibit, in a striking point of view, the cheerful serenity of his mind, and the absence from it of all querulous or angry feelings; describe the pursuits which engaged his attention; and show that, when cast from his eminent station, he was not deserted by his friends, or deprived of that respect which was due so justly to his general character.

“Fresingfield, August 12th, 1691.

“DEAR FRIEND,

“What passed in our journey, our fellow travellers, I suppose, have told you: what hath passed since here in this obscure corner of the world, is not worth the telling. Our health, God be thanked, is as it used to be, or rather better. The sweet air and quiet of this place is much to be preferred to the smoke and noise of London. I have nothing much to be regretted, but the loss of my dear brother of Norwich, and your good company. Our great business here is to keep off (as much as is possible) all visits but of my own relations. Yet on Monday Sir William Cook was here, with his two sons-in-law, and Dr. Hern the court-chaplain. Mr. Wharton was here on Friday; and on Saturday my cousin, Mr. Green, who

would willingly attend me; but I told him I must be (as I have been ever since I left Lambeth, or rather since that left me,) my own chaplain; and it suits not with my present condition to keep still that piece of state. The truth is, our old house is so full, that there is no room for supernumeraries; and as for the new, hay and harvest have set it so far back that we despair of finishing, and rendering it habitable, before the next winter be past. This may serve to excuse me to my good friend Dr. Trumbull (when you next write to him) concerning what passed between him and me about his coming hither, when I saw him last. Excuse me also, I pray, to those friends I have, either at Lambeth or in London, that I took no leave of them when I came away: even from thence I began to enter into that privacy and silence, and retiredness, which I affect, and resolve to court (as my case requires) above all things. Yet tell the steward that we want him: say to him from me, ship away your goods, and sell the rest, and make haste hither. It seems, after I came away, Mr. Bernard sent a packet for me to Palsgrave Court. Mr. Minors sent it by the General Post; and with it a letter of his own to my man, of somewhat odd contents. I send it you enclosed, that you may judge of it. However I beseech you, if reason, or more money, (whatever it be,) will satisfy him, let us

not part in discontent. I said (I think) that all incident charges being paid him, he should have twenty shillings given him above his bargain; and now I add, as much more as you think fitting. God Almighty have you in his keeping, my dear friend.

“ Your’s,

“ W. C.”

“ Fresingfield, 19th, 1691.

“ DEAR FRIEND,

“ When I got once into the coach, I resolved, according to my usual impatience, to push on the journey, and play it off, as fast as I could endure it; and accordingly we went at the utmost stretch, as you have heard. My weariness soon went off; but, methinks, some weakness still remains: *Ma tempo fà tutto*. We build not at the rate we travelled at; though hay and harvest being in, we have recovered all our gang. Yesterday we had thirty or forty at the raising of the gallery; and it stands now in my view from the window I write by, like the bones of a dead body, which you have read upon at Chirurgeon’s Hall, and then tacked together with wires: but it will take so much time to daub and tile, to clothe, and cover it; and St. Bartholomew is so nigh, with his dews and mists, that I despair of dwelling in it this

winter. Sir Phil. Skippon, one of the burgesses for Dunwich, died on the Saturday after I came hither; and, as 'tis said, some others in his family soon after, perhaps of the same disease. Our two neighbour justices (Sir Robert Kemp, and Mr. Cornwallis) have both been to see me, with much civility, and the former with great profession of kindness too. So much from Fresingfield.

“ For your letter, having thanked you for it *mille volte*, I answer:—The three shillings for Mr. Bernard's books, and what else you may have expended for me, I pray take of the steward. Though 'tis kindly offered, I can by no means think fit, that my letters should be franked from the secretary's office: *Unus Bernardus non videt omnia*. No; if he will needs oblige me still with the foreign Avisos, let them be consigned, as they come, into your hands; and my curiosity is not so hasty, but that I can expect to receive them by Bens at his next return. It grieves me to have missed (when I was so nigh it) the seeing of my reverend brother of Bath and Wells.* I am not surprised to hear that his innocency and courage was so bold as to appear openly; but am (I confess) that he did it safely. In that condition God

* Dr. Kenn.

preserve him, and the rest; and especially my dear brother of Norwich, to whom, I pray, when you see him, mention my kindest and most hearty respects. The Lord Preston's story continues still (like the earth in the Psalmist) to be full of dark places; and (God grant it be not also of) cruel habitations. I cannot interpret the innocent drolleries of the Bishop of Gloucester as some, it seems, do: I take him to be a pleasant, but withal a stout, and a steady man. I pray keep well the copy of what Sir Thomas Ch—— was pleased to declare in my behalf, and thank him for doing me right, presenting withal my humble service. Find out, I pray, Mr. Kettlewell; and with my kind respects give him the inclosed. He knows what to do with it. This is all; but that (Carthage must down) the steward must be sent down with all speed.

" I am, dear Sir,

" Your's,

" W. C."

" Fresingfield, September 2d, 1691.

" DEAR FRIEND,

" I thank God I found no inconvenience in my journey, where I use to set a watch against it: my cough does more harm that way than travel; yet even that complaint

is not so loud, or troublesome to myself, or others, as it used to be at Lambeth. The lassitude also (whether scorbutical, or moral,) is no matter of complaint; the first being gone, and the second not yet come; for (whatever some may think) I shall not easily grow weary of this place, if they will let me be quiet here. If you please to send me a note for a diet drink, as Horace said—*quicquid dicam aut erit, aut non*, I will not say to you, I'll take it, or not take it; but I'll consider that I have occasion enough for it, that the season is proper, and the suggestion (as all your's are) very friendly. Buttered coffee I have not used exactly as the good old woman taught it the doctors: but I sometimes eat bread and butter in a morning, and superbibe my second dish of coffee after it; and wait to see what this, and time, and native air will do in the case. For the new house, you have your wish; and I see clearly it will not be habitable, till cold winter, which begins to face us already, again turns his back upon us. I am sorry that upon my occasion, you met with the reverse of the jealous man's fate: he seeks what he would not find, and you found what you would not seek. But *Allegramente!* 'tis over now, and could not have been long avoided. The man that escaped from Palsgrave Court, is as glad that he is gone, (though he

loves not to make comparisons,) as he that told it, or he that heard it: but if they will not suffer him to be quiet where he is, will return, he saith, if not to Palsgrave Court, to some place nigh it. I wish you had given the landlord there the wages for removing, and replacing his books; and, I pray, do it yet: but, for the two panes of glass, one we found broken when we entered, and my man broke the other. As for Fleetwood Shepherd's buffooneries; a satyrist observes, that great men heretofore affected to keep natural fools in their houses, to convince the world that there were some in it who had less wit than themselves; but the modern humour of keeping those about them which pretend to have more wit, and affect to show it too, I understand not. At, at, fruuntur (quoniam ita volunt) hâc insaniâ: ego autem (charissime) fidâ vestrâ et perpetuâ amicitîâ. Vale.

“ W. C.

“ I say nothing of the steward, because I suppose him upon his way towards us. But my kindest respects, I pray, to my Lords of N. and P. and to all my dear friends nigh you.”

“ Fresingfield, September 23d, 1691.

“ DEAR FRIEND,

“ We are preparing our diet drink, with all the ingredients you mention; except

the gander-scurvy-grass; for we would not have it be, or seem, stale before we have done with it and are weary of it. But Digby Bull's letters and packets, though they are stale enough, and I am weary of them more than enough, yet, it seems, I shall never have done with them. But, methinks, you advise very well; and, accordingly, if any more come, refuse them. My kind respects, I pray, to that good and worthy man Mr. Kettlewell, whom I am sorry to have involved in part of my trouble. But you may assure him again I will have no commerce with that importunate and impetuous man: and seeing, as you write, you opened this last letter, and Mr. K. read it, he cannot but see reason enough, why I should resolve to have no more to do with his troublesome neighbour. I am sorry for my Lord of London, but he useth of course to have some little check in his health, at this time of the year; and there used to be cholic pangs in the case, as I remember: but I hope, 'tis but a pang, and will soon be over. The same good wishes I have for the health of that very learned and reverend person who, you say, still remembers me so significantly and kindly.

For your news I thank you; but cannot retaliate, nor make any descants upon it; from hence how should I? Prince Lewis of Baden

is to me greater and more considerable than Lewis of Bourbon, and better worth the inquiring after. I pray, therefore, in your next, tell me, if you know, whether he be an hereditary sovereign, prince or cadet; of what age he is; and if there be a *taille douce* of him, I would willingly see it. And for that, or any other expense you have, or shall be at for me, keep particular account, that when my nephew comes back to you he may reimburse you. He got hither in two days very well, and hunts and eats accordingly. Remember me kindly to all that have not forgotten me and inquire after me. I thank God I am much in the same case, n point of health, as I was at Lambeth; that is, in much better than I could expect, all things considered. Since I have lost your good company, continue, I pray, (what is best next,) your kindness to

“ Your’s,
“ W. C.”

“ Fresingfield, October 7th, 1691.

“ DEAR FRIEND,

“ How kind and obliging is that complaint of your’s, that I give you not so much trouble as you would be well pleased to have for my sake! You call it business: but, alas! Sir,

I have little of that, and, if we can get off my nephew's bonds, shall have every day less, at London; where (as we had it yesterday in the psalm) I am become like a dead man, out of mind; and like a broken vessel, of no use at all.

“ Yet that honourable and excellent lady, (it seems,) even in the midst of her inexplicable sorrows, is pleased to think of me, and mention me : the God of heaven comfort her in the one, and reward her for the other. The Sunday after I received from you that doleful news, I had just occasion to remember her in reading the gospel for that day, concerning the good widow of Nain, and her only son, which is so parallel to the present case. And though we cannot at present expect the miraculous event, yet the time will come, when our merciful Lord will say to the son, Young man I say unto thee arise; and in the mean, I most humbly beseech him to have compassion on the mother, and to say to her (effectually) Weep not.

“ Alas! for honest old John Cook! all my old friends drop away, one after another, and I shall stand alone, I think, ere long, of those of my time; but in the course of things it cannot be long. God fit me for that hour; and (if it be his good pleasure) from sudden death deliver me.

“ The legend of my predecessor’s marriage surely cannot come from an oracle either in the House, or without it. If his pretended wife died before he came to Lambeth, why should he bring her thither to bury her, without owning his marriage? or how should he bury her there (as such) without public notice? I have been told long since, that when he was fellow of All-Soul’s College there was love between him and Mrs. Astley, sister to the then warden; and that some said it went so far as contract, or promise of marriage; but it went no further: of which, they say, she also complained. This is, I think, the ground (if there be any) of the story: and I care not for affording it so good an one, it being told me in secret.

“ The letter you sent me inclosed is not from a man (as you will see) but from a woman. She was a child of about two years old when I removed after the fire from St. Paul’s to her father’s house. When I left that place I saw her not of many years: but in King James’s time she came to me, and desired me to get some employment for her husband, who, she said, is a good clerk, &c. I told her I had no such in view, and that I must know her husband better, before I could recommend him: but I never saw him nor any testimonial of him. For her present request, you know I have al-

ready more engagements for Charter-house, than I am like to live to see cancelled. Tantum est.

“ I am, dear Sir,

“ Your’s,

“ W. C.

“ My kindest affections to my dearest brother, when you shall happen to see him.”

Fresingfield, Nov. 11th, 1691.

“ I must confess, dear friend, it was a very friendly care you took of us, to warn us so often not to make too much haste into our new house; but withal it was a vain one: for alas! we have yet no new house. Our work without doors was ended with the last month; which, had it been as severe as October sometimes is, we could not have finished in this month, but we have a winter’s work still to do within doors, in paving and planchering and daubing, and ceiling, and plastering, and glazing, and wainscotting, making’ doors, laying hearths, &c.; so that we find it a very troublesome thing to bring a new (as well as an old) house over our heads. In the mean time the old tenement is packed as close as it can well be, from end to end, with ourselves, and children, and servants and workmen: so that, when

my cousin returns, (which I now hope he will ere it be long) *Intus existens prohibebit alienum*. Yet our contentment here is as great, and I should be unthankful, should I not acknowledge that our health is rather better than elsewhere; our food plainer, but eaten with a better appetite; our course of employment and action the very same, only not scened so illustriously, nor set off with so good company and conversation. The trouble of visits is well abated; and the hard weather and ill ways, which are at hand, will put an end to them; and we shall be in as great retirement and solitude as our enemies or we ourselves can wish. We make shift to say our prayers together daily, though not in so much company, nor in so proper a place, as at Lambeth: but God, I trust, will accept us. Since I began to drink of your diet drink, I have not failed to take of it every day, and that with very good effect. My usual pill I have taken but once, and that at my first coming hither; and yet (God be praised) I have no complaint, unless it be my old pain in my right shoulder, which gives me the strappada sometimes when I put on my doublet. My native air hath been very kind to me, yet I stir no further nor oftener into it, than I did into a worse. I have of late three or four times a week swallowed three or four

juniper-berries, superbibing coffee or your diet drink. Mr. Evelyn, in his *Sylva*, p. 130, doth highly extol an electuary, which he makes of those berries, as a panacea: I would be glad to know the manner of composing it. Mr. North did me the honour to call at this poor cottage in his progress: I should rejoice to hear that he came to you safe, and continues so; and what became of the proposal once in my hands, from him to Sir R. G. My entire respects, I pray, to them both; and accept the same yourself from

“ Your faithful friend,

“ W. C.”

“ Fresingfield, December 23d, 1691.

“ HONEST, CONSTANT, DEAR FRIEND,

“ I write this only to present my kindest respects to my noble friend, your landlord and yourself; and to let you know (seeing you so kindly inquire after it) that I bless God I am well, at the old rate, which you know, and have been so (without the interruption of one single day) ever since I came to this place. But the spirit of calumny, the persecution of the tongue, dogs me even into this wilderness. Dr. Lake, of Garlick Hill, and others, have (as I am informed) filled your city with a report that I go constantly to this parish church, and

pray for I know not whom, nor how, and receive the holy sacrament there; so that my cousin had something to do to satisfy even my friends that it was quite otherwise: whereas I was never so much as once out of this poor house, and the yards and avenues, since I came first directly from London into it; and I never suffered our vicar, or any other, nor even my chaplains, when they were here, so much as to say grace where I eat; but I constantly officiate myself *secundum usum Lambethenum*, which you know, and never give the holy sacrament but to those of my own persuasion and practice.

“ I think, if I should immure myself between four walls, I should notwithstanding be thought to send and receive letters and intelligence; I know not whether, by the pigeons of Aleppo, or Leyden, or perhaps by the old romantic post, Sir Pacolet on his wooden horse. It is somewhat strange, that I should be accused to one prince for having invited his Highness of Nassau to invade my native country, and to another for inviting his cousin the King of France thither; whereas I should as soon have consulted the witch of Endor (were she to be found) to bring about any thing I desired, as have made either of those addresses: for rebellion is witchcraft too; and if I should do any thing that is evil, though with pretence that good might come of

it, my damnation would be just. As for this new-sprung informer, whether raised of himself, or conjured up by others, I cannot but wonder to find myself in the same treason with the noble lords N——m and H——f, and so many others, whom I know not at all, or not well enough to subscribe the same address with them. And though I know not how long cockatrices sit upon their eggs; yet I cannot but think that after nine months brooding them (and I know not how many more) they should by this time be addle, and never come to a vital exclusion. If Clarke, of Bennet-Finck's, the life-writer, be alive, I wish he would write (so he would do it truly) the parallel lives of Old Titus O. and the modern William Fuller: he would be a fit Plutarch (and good enough in conscience) to write the gests of these two noble Roman heroes, of St. Omers and Paris. For my part, I defy them both, and all the children of the father of lies. *Hic murus aheneus esto, nil conscire sibi.*

“ Yours, Yours,

“ W. C.

“ I pray present my respects and service to all my friends, that remember and ask after me, Dr. Smith and the rest: but with particular and more special regards to Captain H., and the most noble Lord W——th; with whose

kindness I am (as I ought) much affected. The God of heaven bless him, and reward him. I send this (and all my letters) under a cover to Mr. Baker; to whom they'll come from the carrier's quickly, and perhaps more safely than if my direction appeared without."

"Fresingfield, February 9th, 1691.

"DEAR SIR, MY CONSTANT GOOD FRIEND,

"The latter end of last week, being in the humour to unload my table, and sort my papers, I found so great a heap of your weekly kindnesses, that I was much out of countenance, reflecting how great and continual trouble I have put you to, while all the advantage and delight lies on my side; but that your excellent good nature makes you take great delight in obliging your friends. Having gone thus far I could not forbear to review some of your letters; and find thence occasion to ask you some questions, and desire some further informations, (by degrees though as your leisure may give leave,) and so instead of making some better return for your former kindness, to put you upon new trouble. *Vetus beneficium invitat novum.* The great lady who hath of late given so much business to all tongues and pens amongst you hath sure a complice of her crime; but you name him not, and my conjec-

tures cannot find him ; because I cannot reconcile them to what you write of him in two of your letters compared together. Name him, I pray, *hardiment*.

“ When you happen upon the excellent Mr. Evelyn, give him my most hearty respects, and thanks too, for the receipt (recipe) he sent me : but the process is too operose, and not worth the while for poor me. I had fancied it to be some of the *Εὐπρίστα*, because he said it was prepared annually for his poor neighbours ; but considered not that his great charity is as extensive as other men’s curiosity, or desire of glory.

“ I have often wondered (and ignorance, you know, is the cause of admiration,) what the clause (A) in the bill of treasons might be, which hath occasioned so many conferences, and so much pro and con between the two houses, that on one side they are forced to detach the Hallifaxes, and such heroes for their assistance. The weekly votes often mention this unlucky clause, but are never so kind as to tell us what it is ; taking it for granted, perhaps, that we poor country boors know as much as you Londoners, who have chairs allowed you to sit upon the very stage. A word or two of your’s may enlighten my ignorance.

“ With much grief of heart I read the tragical

exit of my poor countryman Dr. Clench, both for his own sake, whom I knew, and for that of the public too, that such barbarous practices are got in amongst us. If that work of darkness dawns since into any clearer light, gladden my eyes with it I pray; and tell who that Harrison is who was under misprision of the bloody deed.

“ My paper is almost spent: but I must not forget to desire you (who gave us the first notice of the thing) to remember my kind respects and thanks to Sir Richard Raines (when you meet him) and his good lady, for the noble present which they sent me. God reward them for it and bless them. *Ohe! jam satis est. Claudite jam rivos—sat prata biberunt.* What remains I adjourn to another day; and with my most hearty affection subscribe myself,

“ Your’s,
“ W. C.”

In the spring of the year 1692, while Archbishop Sancroft was enjoying his peaceful retirement, rejoicing at his escape from the tumults of the great world, and smiling at the reports which his enemies were busy in spreading, respecting his engaging in plots against the state, a forgery of singular atrocity was com-

mitted by two wretches of the names of Black-head and Young, which, though it was principally directed against Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, yet would, in the event of its success, have involved our venerable Archbishop and several other noble persons in a charge of high treason. These villains laid their train of mischief with considerable address. They forged a paper with counterfeited signatures annexed, purporting that they, whose names were subscribed, solemnly promised, in the presence of God, to contribute their utmost assistance towards King James's recovery of his kingdoms; that to this end they would have ready to meet him at his landing, 30,000 men well armed; would seize upon the person of the Princess of Orange, dead or alive, and take care that some strong garrison should be forthwith delivered into his hands; also, that they would furnish him with a considerable sum of money for the support of his army. Seven names were affixed to the paper; among which were those of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Earl of Marlborough; the Archbishop's being first. The handwritings were imitated with such exactness of art, that the Bishop of Rochester declared he should have believed his name to have been written with his own hand, had he seen it in

another place. One of the conspirators, Black-head, contrived to introduce this paper into the Bishop of Rochester's house, at Bromley, and there to place it within a flowerpot in his parlour.

Information was, without loss of time, conveyed to the Privy Council, of the pretended plot against the government; and an order was accordingly issued for the arrest of the Bishop of Rochester. "It was," says the Bishop, "on Saturday, May 7th of this present year, 1692, in the evening, as I was walking in the orchard at Bromley, meditating on something I intended to preach the next day, that I saw a coach and four horses stop at the outer gate, out of which two persons alighted. Immediately I went towards them, believing they were some of my friends, coming to give me a visit. By the time I was got to the gate, they were entered into the hall; but seeing me hastening towards them, they turned and met me about the middle of the court. The chief of them, perceiving me to look wistly on them, as being altogether strangers to me, said, My Lord, perhaps you do not know me: I am clerk of the council, and here is one of the messengers: I am sorry I am sent on this message, but I am come to arrest you on a suspicion of high treason.

There was little chance that a plot, resting on the bare testimony of two men of no character, should fail of being confuted by clear circumstantial evidence, as soon as the test of close examination was applied to it. When these wretched contrivers were confronted with the Bishop before the Privy Council, the train of their falsehood was soon laid open, and the innocence of himself and of the others concerned, proved beyond the possibility of doubt.

It appears that one of the conspirators, Young, had been concerned before in various impostures, in the course of which he had made frequent applications to Archbishop Sancroft with forged papers, and under several false pretences. The Bishop of Rochester thought it right, after the detection of the foul conspiracy, to trace out, and publish to the world, all this man's infamous proceedings. With this view, he wrote to Archbishop Sancroft in his retirement to inquire all that he knew respecting him. The Archbishop answered him in the following terms.

“Fresingfield, July 13th, 1692.

“MY GOOD LORD AND BROTHER,

“I have just now received your's of July 5th, and having read it over, immediately take up my pen to tell you, that, in compliance

with your earnest desires, I give up and consign into your Lordship's hand the papers concerning Young, the falsary, which I sent to Mr. Needham, to be made use of and disposed as your Lordship in your discretion shall think fit; with this caution notwithstanding, that, whereas there are amongst them some letters of my dear old friends, Bishop Lloyd of Norwich, and Bishop Lloyd of St. Asaph, (who are both at present in or about London,) no use be made of them without their privity, or any further than they allow.

“ As for the narrative you desire, you shall certainly have it, as well as my old leaking memory will enable me to form it. But though I must take the longer time for that, yet because you tell me you long with some impatience for my answer to the rest, I have hastened to give it (and my kindest respects) with that readiness and heartiness which becomes,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Lordship's, &c.

“ W. C.”

He afterwards sent the Bishop of Rochester a long letter, detailing the particulars of all that he knew respecting this person; and both these letters were published by the Bishop.*

* See “ A Relation of the late wicked Contrivance of Ste-

In this peaceful retirement at Fresingfield, the venerable Archbishop passed the year 1692. His late chaplain, Mr. Wharton, mentions* that he visited him again in August in this year, and found him in good health and spirits, ready to enter into his new apartment, then completely finished and furnished. He again made him a tender of his constant service and attendance; the Archbishop took the offer in very kind part, but would not accept it, resolving to live without the service of any chaplain or other clergyman. The prevailing desires of his mind at this time seem to have been to divest himself entirely of the forms and trammels of his former greatness; to live in as close a seclusion from the world as he could; and, considering himself on the brink of that goal which was to terminate all his earthly hopes and fears, to devote himself to those serious reflections and those pious offices which might fit him for the solemn change he was soon to undergo.

That the feeling which originally took possession of his mind, of the unlawfulness of taking the oaths to the new government, was

phen Blackhead and Robert Young," by Thos. Lord Bishop of Rochester, 1692.

* Wharton's MSS.

a powerful one, will not be doubted, when it is considered how great a sacrifice of worldly interest and eminency he made in consequence of it. After he had made the sacrifice, the natural turn of his mind must have been to justify to himself the line he had taken, by confirming and strengthening that view of things on which the resolution was founded. In addition to this, his more free and unreserved communications after his retirement were principally maintained with persons who had acted on the same views with himself; and, as many of these carried their feelings and prejudices on the subject which divided them from the rest of the nation, much farther than he did, the result seems to have been that his mind, besides being confirmed in its approbation of the part which he had taken, gradually advanced to a strong conviction of the error and even sinfulness of the part taken by others. Thus, as we shall find, he was induced to think and speak of those of the prelates and clergy who refused the new oath, and were in consequence ejected, as forming the true church of England, while he looked upon the rest who remained in possession of their benefices, or were appointed to those vacated by the non-jurors, as forming an apostate and rebellious church. And, under the influence of the same

feelings, he was also induced to take steps which no friend to his memory can justify or approve, for laying the foundation of a permanent schism in the church of England.

The first measure which he took for this purpose was the formal consignment of his archiepiscopal powers, on his retiring from the see, to Dr. Lloyd, the deprived Bishop of Norwich.

The instrument, by which he appointed Bishop Lloyd his vicar in all ecclesiastical matters, is dated from his "hired house," at Fresingfield, February 9th, 1691, rather more than half a year after his departure from Lambeth. He styles himself in it "a humble minister of the metropolitan church of Canterbury." He states that, having been driven by a lay force from the house of Lambeth, and not finding in the neighbouring city a place where he could conveniently abide, he had retired afar off, seeking where, in his old age, he might rest his weary head: and, as there remained many affairs of great moment to be transacted in the church, which could be most conveniently attended to by one resident in London or its vicinity, he therefore appoints him (Bishop Lloyd) his vicar, and commits to him all the authority belonging to his place and pontifical or archiepiscopal office. The in-

strument proceeds “whomsoever you, my brother, as occasion may require, shall take and adjoin to yourself, shall choose and approve, confirm and appoint, all those, as far as of right I can, I in like manner take and adjoin, choose and approve, confirm and appoint. In a word, whatsoever you in matters of this kind may do, or think proper to be done, of whatever magnitude or description it may be, you are confidently to impute to me.”*

* It may be desirable to give the whole of this curious instrument in the original language. The following copy is taken from a MS. in Emanuel College.

“Wilhelmus Providentiâ Divinâ Ecclesiæ Metrop. Cant. humilis minister, reverendo admodum in Chr^o. patri, et fratri in Domino charissimo, Gulielmo, eâdem providentiâ etiamnum Nordovicensi Episcopo, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem: Cum ego nuper ex ædibus Lambhithanis vi laicâ pulsus, et non inveniens in urbe vicinâ ubi tuto possem, aut commode commorari, procul secesserim, quærens ubi fessus senio requiescerem, multa autem jam tum remanserint, et emergent quotidie plura, eaque momenti maximi, Dei scilicet et Ecclesiæ negotia, nullibi ita commode atque expeditè, ac in magno illo rerum gerendarum theatro transigenda; tibi igitur, frater dilectissime, qui pro eâ quâ polles animi fortitudine, et pio, quo flagras, zelo domus Dei, adhuc in suburbis Londinensibus (palantibus undique cæteris) moraris et permanes, adeo ut neminem illuc habeam ita σοφον, quique ita γνησιον rerum mearum et ecclesiæ satagat, tibi inquam ad hæc omnia pensitanda, et finaliter expedienda, hoc quicquid est muneris mei, et pontificii, fretus prudentiâ tuâ, et solitâ in rebus gerendis

The instrument is curious, as showing the state of the Archbishop's feeling at the time, and the firmness with which he maintained the principles he had imbibed. Bishop Lloyd continued to act under this commission till the day of his death, but with so much caution and prudence, as to give as little umbrage as pos-

solertiâ, committo in Domino, teque Vicarium meum ad præmissa rerumque mearum et negotiorum actorem, factorem, et nuntium generalem, vigore harum literarum eligo, facio et constituo. Apage autem Notariatûs et Marculphi formulas, inter bonos bene agere oportet. Dicam summarîè et de plano, quoscunque tu, frater, prout res et occasio tulerit, assumpseris et adjunxeris tibi, elegeris et approbaveris, confirmaveris et constitueris, Ego quoque (quantum in me est et de jure possum) assumo pariter et adjungo, eligo et approbo; confirmo et constituo. Uno verbo, quicquid in istius modi negotiis feceris ipse aut faciendum duxeris, id omne quantum et qualecunque illud fuerit, mihi audenter imputa. Ecce Ego Wilhelmus manu meâ scripsi. Ego præstabo non solum ratum sed et gratum insuper habiturus. Splendor autem Domini Dei nostri sit super te, frater, et opera manuum tuarum dirigat et confirmet. Quin et eripiat te, fratresque nostros omnes, ex ore leonis, et de manu canis, et a cornibus unicornium exaudiat vos: Mactetque denique et cumulet omni benedictione spirituali in cœlestibus in Christo Jesu. Datum e proprio conducto (quod enim mihi molior tugurium superveniente acri hyeme nondum exædificatum est) hic in campo gelido, nunc etiam profundè gelato, sito intra tuæ diocœseos pomæria, nono die Februarii, Anno Domini 1691^o.

“ W. CANT.

“ Actum in præsentia meâ, W^m^{us} Sancroft, jun. Notarii Publici.”

sible to the bishops who were in possession of the sees.

A second measure, which he took, or at least in which he concurred, still less justifiable, was the providing for a regular succession of nonjuring prelates and ministers. We derive our principal information on this subject from the author* of the *Life of Mr. Kettlewell*, one of the most eminent nonjurors. It is stated that at some period within the two or three first years after the Revolution, probably in the year 1691 or 1692, the exiled king ordered a list of the nonjuring clergy to be sent over to him: a list was accordingly made out, as perfect as could be procured in the existing state of things, considering the unwillingness which, for obvious reasons, many must have felt to have their names appear in such a list. Out of the number whose names were thus sent over, it is related that, at the request of the nonjuring bishops, King James nominated two for the continuance of the episcopal succession, the one to derive his spiritual functions and authority from Archbishop Sancroft, the other from Bishop Lloyd, of Norwich, the eldest suffragan bishop. The two appointed were Dr. George

* Dr. Birch states that this was Dr. Francis Lee, who compiled it from the papers of Dr. Hickes and Mr. Nelson. See *Life of Tillotson*, p. 269.

Hickes and Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe;* the former was consecrated by the title of Suffragan of Thetford, the latter by that of Suffragan of Ipswich. The Archbishop died before their consecration, and his archiepiscopal functions were performed on the occasion by the Bishop of Norwich, assisted by the other nonjuring bishops.†

* Dr. Hickes had been presented by Archbishop Sancroft to the living of Allhallows Barking in London, and was latterly Dean of Worcester before the Revolution. Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe had been Rector of St. Margaret and St. Gabriel Fenchurch, and Chancellor of the cathedral church of Lichfield.— See the Life of Kettlewell, App. No. ix.

† The succession of bishops and presbyters among the nonjurors was continued during the greater part of the last century: Dr. Hickes appears to have been the leading person amongst them; and during his lifetime all those who joined in the setting up a rival communion remained compact; afterwards they became much divided. The number of nonjuring bishops seems to have varied at different times. In 1716, there were five, Jeremy Collier, Nathaniel Spinkes, — Hawes, and two others. Among those afterwards consecrated were the names of Dr. Deacon, Dr. Thomas Brett, Mr. Thomas Brett, Mr. Smith of Durham, Dr. Rawlinson, and Dr. Gordon. The latter died in London, November, 1779, and is supposed to have been the last nonjuring bishop. He left behind him two or three presbyters. The nonjuring bishops were always particularly strict in their consecrations, which were performed by at least three bishops, the acts of consecration being always signed, sealed, and properly attested, and carefully preserved. Dr. Deacon separated from the other nonjurors, and himself alone consecrated one or more bishops; but those consecrations were

This separation of the church into two communions was by no means approved at the time by the whole of those who refused the new oaths; and it gave rise to considerable discussion amongst them, conducted with some heat and vehemence. It was properly remarked by some of that body, that even if it were clear that the authority by which they were deprived was not legal or not competent, or the cause of deprivation not just, still the separation of the church by setting up altar against altar must lead to practical evil; but if, on the other hand, it were allowed, as most persons on cool consideration must be disposed to allow, that the non-acknowledgment of the existing government was a sufficient cause for deprivation, and that the authority which deprived, being that of the government appointed by the estates of the realm, was both legal and competent, then no possible doubt could be admitted as to the impropriety of the step which was now unhappily taken.

never allowed by the main body. The succeeding bishops of the nonjurors were not consecrated with any particular titles, as were the first bishops by those of suffragans of Thetford and Ipswich. There were many very eminent and learned men amongst the nonjurors at different times; amongst others, Collier, Lealie, Dr. Brett, Dodwell, and Nelson. It is supposed that, at the end of the last century, there was not a single nonjuring congregation or minister remaining.

Of the particular reasons which induced Archbishop Sancroft to concur in this measure, further than the strong general feeling which he ever entertained and expressed, of the illegality of his deprivation, it is impossible to speak, because they are not recorded. The transaction took place, it should be remembered, at a time when his spirits were broken by ill health and the events which had befallen him; and when the influence of others was likely to impel him to the adoption of measures which his own sounder judgment would not have approved. That judgment would, no doubt, have otherwise taught him to reflect, that it is no light matter to cause, in any case, a schism in the church of Christ; that the grounds of such a proceeding ought to be most seriously weighed, before they are acted upon; that, as the evils which result from it are certain, there ought to be a clear conviction that they cannot conscientiously be avoided, and that they are overbalanced by contrary good. It would have suggested to him that, in the present instance, there could be no sufficient reason, for establishing a permanent schism, as there was no difference of doctrine or discipline* concerned, no alleged doubt as to

* Soon after the Revolution, alterations in the liturgy were proposed, with the view of satisfying the scruples of dis-

the validity of the ministerial functions in the church in possession, but merely a separation, on grounds purely civil and temporary in their nature, which only affected those who had taken the oaths to the former sovereign, not others who were to succeed them. It was one thing to refuse to hold an office, civil or ecclesiastical, under a sovereign to whom, while another sovereign lived, they felt they could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance; but it was quite a distinct consideration, whether they should deliberately pronounce the church established under that sovereign, to be, on this ground alone, not a true church; an opinion which alone could justify them in setting up a rival communion against it. However, it does not become us to judge dogmatically, or to censure with too much harshness, in a matter

senters; for this purpose, a commission of divines was appointed under the great seal, to consider the matter and prepare a scheme to be laid before the Convocation. The Convocation, however, were hostile to the measure, and nothing was done. On this Bishop Burnet remarks, (vol. ii. p. 30—34.) that herein was a happy direction of Providence: for the Jacobite clergy were at this time contemplating a schism in the church, and wished to be furnished with some specious pretences for that purpose; if therefore alterations had been made in the Rubric and other parts of the Common Prayer, they would have contended that they still stuck to the ancient church in opposition to those who were setting up new models.

where some of the wisest and the best of men were divided in their opinions; where we have the fullest reason to be assured that all acted from the sincere dictates of conscience; and where the name of Sancroft is found to sanction and to dignify a cause, which our own individual judgments may little dispose us to approve.

The following letters, written by him towards the end of 1692, and at the beginning of 1693, exhibit, in the same manner as those which have already been quoted, a pleasing picture of the even serenity of his mind. Although he was manifestly wearied with the world and disgusted with its outward pomps; although he had experienced disappointment and reverse to a degree which it falls to the lot of few persons to know; and although, as we have seen, some strong prejudices had taken deep root in his mind; yet we do not find that his temper was soured by the events which had befallen him; we perceive nothing of that moroseness of spirit which is too often engendered by disappointment, and nourished by seclusion from the world. On the contrary, we find him, whenever we are able to descend into his private feelings, possessed of a calm and cheerful temper, evidently satisfied with himself, and appearing to enjoy his retired con-

dition, quite as much as if he had been directed to it entirely by his own free choice, and not by the course of circumstances which had made it his duty to embrace it.

“ Fresingf. April 2d, 1692.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ Were not your kindness to me extraordinarily great, and to yourself as little, you could not endure the weekly task you put yourself to for my sake: which, though you take with cheerfulness, I cannot receive without some trouble and shame, when I consider how much the heap daily grows, and how seldom, and nothing I return. But my cousin being now coming toward you, I could not forbear scribbling a word or two, to give him an occasion of visiting and thanking you, and presenting my kindest respects both to yourself and my noble friend under whose roof you are.

“ I observe how you begin your last letter, that since you wrote last, you had been but once abroad; which makes me fear, you have not been well, and that the weather continues to be unkind to you, as I have observed it to be this winter; though you now be gotten on the right side of the river, as they call it. There is no help for it, Sir, old age creeps on, and with it infirmities must come: may they (I

pray God) be few and easy to you. When you next visit the Bishop of Worcester,* (who still so kindly inquires of me,) I pray give him my kind respects. Your letter is doubtfully penned, whether it was he or my old friend of St. Asaph, that was in danger of some mischief upon unskilful blood-letting: but the best is, that whichever it was, all is well again. I pray put my Lord in mind, when you see him next, of two things which some years since he told me in privacy; assuring him, that I have never before mentioned either of them to any man. One was, that Mr. Boyle had then a most pious intention of making an establishment for an excellent public use, in the which the bishop was to be employed; and desire him to let me know (if he think fit) what became of it; and whether there be any provision since made for it, either by will or otherwise.—The other was, that he had an intention at that time forthwith to review and much augment his *Origines*; for which, truly, there is very great reason, there having been many new and desperate atheistical attacks made upon our most holy religion since his first edition; which I have with great satisfaction again read over since I came hither, and would be glad before

* Dr. Stillingfleet.

I die, (if God so please,) to see the new-risen adversaries fall under the same hand that vanquished the old ones.

“ Your faithful Friend,
“ TITIUS OR SEMPRONIUS.”

“ Fresingfield, Sept. 27th, 1692.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ A few days since a gentleman, our neighbour, came to me from Sir Nevil Catlin, desiring a direction where he might find you in London. It seems his old complaint (hernia in scroto) is returned upon him, within these two or three months, accompanied with some other new ones; and he is resolved to put himself into your hands. I blamed him for deferring so long; which is always dangerous, but especially in recidivo. *Obsta principiis*. I gave him a certain direction to your lodging; and it may be he hath been with you already; or may be ere this comes to you. However, it will be needless altogether for me to add anything; your seeing him to need your assistance, (being so worthy a person) will sufficiently dispose you to afford him your best advice.

“ I thank you for your kind offices with the Earl of Huntington in behalf of Mr. Cunliff. Notwithstanding that discouragement from the

Earl, he went on his journey into Derbyshire; the vicarage he was invited to being represented to him to be worth (even without the hospital) £100 per annum, and of that £60 glebe land. But when he came thither he found the glebe not much above half that value; and the rest so inconsiderable, that he thinks himself as well at Newmarket, without the trouble of removing so far. But the last week he received information (which he relies upon as well founded) that the school-master of Repton is remanded to his school; the two great lords not agreeing to bestow the hospital upon him; which was the supposition that only (as I remember) lay before in Mr. Cunliff's way, why he should not be governor of that hospital, as the former vicars have been. Besides Sir William Gerard, who is the other feoffee, is wholly for Mr. Cunliff. So that by this time, you see the trouble that is again returning upon you; that you will speak once more with the Earl of Huntington, (if he be in London,) presenting my humble service and respects to him; and desire him, that if the resolution taken between him and the other lord be at an end, he would join with Sir William Gerard, and bestow that government upon the vicar as it hath been formerly. Dear Sir, the constant trouble you undergo for my sake is so great, that I ought

not to burthen you with extraordinaries, especially since all the retribution I make you is to acknowledge them, and to give you thanks, and pray God to reward you kindness to

“ Your faithful friend,

“ W. C.

“ I have now slept ten nights in my new lodgings; and could gladly say (if so it please God) *in nido meo moriar*; but the changes of the world are so many, and the malice of men so great, my lot may be that in the prophet, *Arise, and depart, for this is not your rest*. If so it be, God’s will be done; behold the servant of the Lord; be it unto me according to his word.”

“ Fresingfield, January 18th, 1692.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ On New Year’s Day, when your good neighbour and his good friend were so kind as to visit us, the service (you know) is very long, and I officiated myself, as I use to do, in a very cold room too, where there never was a fire, and the day, you may remember, very cold too. So that, by that time the office was performed, I was indeed very cold; and so, I believe, was the whole company. But that hereupon I got cold, or had then upon me any thing of that, which in England we usually

call a cold, is a mistake. My deafness, which made it troublesome both to me and to my friends to converse with me, hath been many months upon me: and, therefore, I dined privately here, as I use to do, nor have I eat at the old house, or been there, but twice (and once was on Christmas-day) since first I removed hither. Notwithstanding, I thank you for your kind advice, and will take a dose of my pills, which I have by me, as soon as the weather relents a little.

“ Unless my memory hath got a strange cold too, your neighbour said not one word to me of any bill thrown out of the House of Lords, or of any protestation made, or entered, with the reasons of the dissent: insomuch, that when I read all this in your letter, and had considered it, as well as I could, I could not guess what the bill concerned.

“ After dinner, as we sat by the fireside, he he very kindly proffered to make me a friend in the Post-office, that should send me all foreign news and letters, &c. To divert this, (having a great averseness from keeping such intelligence, which I fear may prove dangerous to me in my circumstances,) I told him, that I had now very little curiosity left alive in me; and that I was so far from beginning new correspondencies, that I was thinking of putting an

end to the old. But I gave him no commission (not so much as by an innuendo) that he should do it; nor could I ever think fit to break off so abruptly with Mr. Bernard, (who hath been so kind hitherto,) without first acknowledging his past care.

“ But my cousin, W. S., will be with you about Candlemas; and then I will order him to do what is fitting herein. Interim, cura ut valeas.

“ My respects and service, I pray, to all friends; and most particularly to my honourable friend and patron Mr. R. N., and to my reverend brother the B. of P. when you see him.”

“ Fresingfield, March 15th, 1692.

“ DEAR FRIEND,

“ My copy of Sir Walter Raleigh’s William the First, I had soon after I was a Bachelor of Arts, taken from the papers of an old presbyterian in Hertfordshire, which sort of men were always the more fond of Sir Walter’s books, because he was under the disfavour of the court. I never saw or heard of another copy, but one in my late Lord Radnor’s hands, which was imperfect, and upon his request supplied from mine. His grand child, Mr. Raleigh, my neighbour in Surrey, knew nothing

of it; who lent me a great MS. in folio of his grandfather's, from whence I took what I liked, and had not before. After I had corrected the writing, pointed it, divided it into sections, and caused it to be transcribed fair, I found that Sa. Daniel inserted into his History of England, almost word for word, both the introduction and the life: whence it is, that you have sometimes in the margin of my copy a various reading with D. after it, which stands for Daniel. If Mr. Keble hath any mind to publish any more of this author's, you may tell him, that, besides the great volume in his grandchild's custody, (which I mentioned before,) and some things in mine, I think not printed, David Loyd, in the second edition of his *State Worthies*, 1670, p. 675, tells us, ' That Mr. Hampden, a little before the wars, was at the charge of transcribing 3452 sheets of Sir W. Raleigh's MSS., as the amanuensis himself told him; who had his close chamber, his fire, and candle, with an attendant to deliver him the originals, and take his copies, as fast as he could write them.' If Mr. K. can come at all these, he may soon make a volume as big as the history of the world. The prefacer to the book newly printed observes well, that it is in all points much like Sir W. Raleigh's way of writing, and worthy of him; but it much surprised

me to find so much of it in Sa. Daniel, without his ever mentioning Sir Walter; so that whether Plato Philonizeth, or Philo Platonizeth, is hard to judge.

“ I pray, let Mr. Bernard be paid in the first place for the *Journals des Sçavans*, and the two little French books; and then (with my thanks for his kindness) present him from me with a guinea; and as much more as you think *bien-seant*.

“ I am amazed to hear of another new plot, (which I never heard of, but by your letter;) and that there are five hundred in it: but one comfort in it is, that if there be five thousand in it, I am sure I am none of them: as sure as that I am,

“ Your affectionate faithful friend.

“ I should very much rejoice to hear, that your neighbour's daughter died in peace, and received no troublesome visits upon her death-bed; and that she was buried, and how; and that the poor little orphan is come back to your voisinage: for those words, *I'll take the same care of him, as of mine own*, amount not to more or less than this, I'll put him into the Clermont or the College of Navarre, to be educated by the sons of the lame soldier of Pampelune.

“ I hear that Mr. Hody hath published a large answer to Mr. Dodwell, and the rest that have written against him; and that Bishop Parker’s Latin History of Fanaticism is also printed; but before I be at the expense of either, I would gladly know what the world thinks of them, and whether it be worth the while to purchase them.—*A Dio, amico mio.*”

The following letter, written at the end of June, 1693, about five months before his death, presents him to us still in the same calm contented frame of his mind in which we have before seen him.

“ Fresingfield, June 28th, 1693.

“ MY DEAR AND CONSTANT FRIEND,

“ I pray, will you give my hearty thanks to Mr. Lownds for the noble present I received lately from him through your hands. It is one of the goodliest volumes I have now in my study. I shall never be able to make him amends for this kindness, and yet he may double the obligation, if he pleases, by sending me a particular of all that was omitted or added or altered in the MS. original, for which I will readily gratify them that take this trouble for me. But, my good friend, I expected that you, having, it seems, read it over, should have given

me your opinion of it from your so late perusal, as I gave you from my old memory, after so many years. At least, I should be glad to know how it is generally received, and how it sells. As to Mr. Lownds's fear that it should not be acceptable to me upon that consideration, which he expressed to the right noble Earl, alas! the good man, I see, knows me not, that nothing of that sort troubles me. It is long since, that I said of that great pile, even while I was in it, the old Leonine verse:

" Nunc mea, nunc hujus, sed post ea nescio cujus.

" When I was suddenly driven out of it at eight or nine o'clock at night, I wish it were known, how cheerfully I turned my back upon it, and how soundly I slept the night following under another man's roof. But now, in this cottage of my own building, (this lodge in a garden of cucumbers, *questa povera mia capanna,*) I am as well to my contentment, as the greatest he *qui latè et laxè et magnificè habitat*. All my fear is, and greater too than that of old, lest I should be forced from hence too, for I would fain say, if I durst, as holy Job did, *in nido meo moriar*. But, alas! he was mistaken, and so may I, should I say so; and therefore I lay my hand upon my mouth and say nothing; but, as it pleaseth God, so come

things to pass. But, as one said wisely, *Nolo hodie crastinus esse miser*, sufficient to this day is the evil thereof, as wisdom itself said. In the mean time, I will write over my door, as the Italian did upon his house,

*Parva sed apta mihi ; sed nulli obnoxia, sed non
Sordida, parva meo sed tamen ære domus.*

“ Afford me your prayers, dear friend ; that, when I remove from hence, (and that cannot be far off,) I may, by God’s mercy, have a building of God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the Heavens.

“ W. C.”

Mr. Wharton had paid him another visit, March 20, 1693 ; he describes him as having then assumed the outward appearance, together with his secluded habits, of a hermit. He says that he found him in good health, and wearing a long beard. The Archbishop then delivered to him many papers, and promised to leave him all his papers at his death.

It does not appear that pursuits merely literary formed any considerable part of the occupation of his time during the retirement of his latter days. In the earlier portions of his life, his thirst for knowledge had been ardent ; and he had been an eager and industrious collector of useful information. In the high station of

the church, however, which he had latterly filled, it is probable that the various important affairs which demanded his attention, may have afforded little leisure for the cultivation of a literary taste. As years advance too, it generally happens, that the mind is more disposed to repose itself on knowledge already acquired, than to exert much activity in the acquisition of more. With all cultivators of useful information, in addition to the pleasure arising from the gratification of curiosity, and the exercise of a literary taste, a strong operating motive is derived from contemplating the advantages of the acquirement at some future time, in the intercourse and relations of society. Now, when the term of life begins to be visibly approaching, when the relish for social intercourse with the world begins to languish, and the portion of life, which is still future, becomes of small account with respect to its whole duration, it seems natural that the ardour for making those acquisitions should gradually abate. There is too a period of life when, valuable as human knowledge is, it is seen and felt to be a mere earthly possession, and, as such, soon to be relinquished, in common with all that belongs to earth. One, like Archbishop Sancroft, divided from the world by a line which he neither hoped nor desired to pass, with whom the relish for

this world's good had passed away, and every hope and view were fixed upon a better, must have felt that he had much serious and important matter which demanded his attention; and that, except for the purpose of amusement and relaxation to his mind, he had very little inducement to apply himself to the pursuit and acquisition of worldly knowledge.

There was one literary employment, to which he began to devote some attention during his retirement, but which, probably from setting about it with a languid feeling, and without a relish for the business, he deferred so long, that death surprised him in the midst. This was, the preparing and arranging for the press the diary and papers of Archbishop Laud. It has already been mentioned, that he originally engaged in the design of publishing these papers, when he was Dean of St. Paul's, at the instance of Archbishop Sheldon. The execution of the design was at that time deferred on various accounts. When he was Archbishop, he in vain hoped for leisure to accomplish it. In his retirement he seems to have intended from the first to set about the work, but in consequence of other intervening employments, and perhaps from the unsettled state of his mind, arising from the change of his circumstances, he did not begin it till August, 1693, two years after

he had fixed himself there. At that time, he opened his papers, began to compare the copy with the original, to divide the history into chapters, to examine the citations and references, to note down different memoranda for his own use in preparing the edition, to mark out the places that required to be amended or considered, to make marginal observations, and to draw up a list of memorials for an appendix. He was earnestly engaged in this business; the original and copy of Laud's Diary, with many of the papers relating to it, lay before him on his writing desk; and he was noting on a loose paper some queries and directions, when he was seized on the 25th of August with a violent fever, from which he never recovered, and which, in the course of about three months, put a period to his life.

The account, which we fortunately possess, of the circumstances attending his last sickness, and of his behaviour under them, exhibits a most pleasing picture of the piety and many virtues which adorned his mind. We behold in him an instance, such as has not often been preserved on record, of a soul, not exempt indeed from all human weakness, but elevated to a noble height of true Christian heroism, duly prepared by habit and reflection for the approach of death; humbly, yet firmly, resigned

under all the dispensations of Providence, and cheered in its last extremity by a meek and animating faith.

The disease which attacked him was at first an intermitting fever; the fits were extremely violent, insomuch, that from the second a fatal termination was apprehended; he lay for some time speechless and bereft of his senses; but, by the assistance of the Peruvian bark, administered under the advice of a physician, a third fit was prevented. Yet, although the recurrence of the fits was prevented, the state of his health remained without any promising hopes. He recovered no strength, but continued to sink under a general weakness and decay. He had taken to his bed on the 25th of August, when the fever first attacked him, and rose from it no more.

As soon as he had reason to apprehend a fatal termination of his illness, and perceived that he had no prospect of maturing with his own hand for publication the papers of Archbishop Laud, he expressed the desire of seeing his late chaplain, Mr. Wharton, for the purpose of consigning them to his care. It so happened that Mr. Wharton soon heard of his illness, and, in consequence, took a journey to visit him. He arrived at Fresingfield on the last day of October. The Archbishop then acquainted him with his

design, related to him how the papers of Archbishop Laud first came into his hands, how he had often prepared to complete the publication of them, and having now at last earnestly set about the business, found himself interrupted by an attack of sickness, the termination of which would, in all probability, be fatal. He then told him that, feeling his own inability to complete the design, he desired to consign it over to his care; and immediately he caused to be placed in his hands the original and copy of the History and Diary, together with all the papers belonging to them, and all the observations and collections that he had made respecting them. At this time, Mr. Wharton says, he was evidently decaying apace; his voice was weak, and his spirits faint, so that he could not give him as perfect an account as he desired of the manner in which the copy had first come into Archbishop Sheldon's hands. For, on his having omitted to explain this matter distinctly, and Mr. Wharton, in consequence, requesting further information on this and some other points, he answered, "These are material questions, but I am weary with speaking, and my spirits are faint. I cannot now make you any further answer herein." After this, Mr. Wharton says that he never presumed to trouble him with the question.

The Archbishop desired Mr. Wharton to call on him again after a fortnight or three weeks. He accordingly waited on him November 21st. At that time, he found him sensibly drawing near to his end. The Archbishop was perfectly aware of his state. He first caused him to look over all his papers, the greater part of which had not been opened or put in any order, since his removal from Lambeth. On proceeding to do this, Mr. Wharton found many papers relating to Archbishop Laud, scattered among several parcels of other writings. He continued in making this search, till he saw such evident marks of the near approach of death in the Archbishop, that he thought it proper to desist. Knowing too his intention and desire of having the last office of religion performed by a nonjuring clergyman, he was fearful that his presence might be the occasion of some embarrassment, and thought it best to take his leave of his venerable patron, and to quit the house. The Archbishop took leave of him with the greatest possible demonstrations of kindness and affection. He gave him his blessing twice, in the most solemn manner, as he knelt by his bedside. He professed his great repentance for all sins, but more particularly for not having acted with that vigour, authority, and power, in his archiepiscopal office, which

the course and state of the church might have required, and for thereby having omitted to employ to the utmost the means of serving the church of Christ, which God had put into his power. He discoursed to him for a long time in the most devout manner respecting his hopes and assurance of another state.

In designing to make a disposition of his property, he certainly betrayed some weakness; for he formed the resolution not to make any will, which would require to be proved in the courts of his pretended successor; and, in consequence, he was much perplexed as to what steps he should take. Mr. Roger North,* who had been the steward of his archiepiscopal courts, and who had maintained the habit of frequently visiting him subsequently to his retirement, happened to come to him when he was near his end, and found him in great trouble of mind as to this matter of settling his affairs. Various persons of different professions had been consulted, and had suggested several puzzling expedients, which only served to distract his mind on the subject. When Mr. North came, the Archbishop explained to him, in few words, for he was then labouring under great weakness and difficulty of utterance, the

* See Gutch's *Miscell. Curiosa*, vol. i. pref. p. xxxix.

trouble which this matter gave him, Mr. North immediately suggested that the simplest and best expedient would be, to make a deed of gift of all his property to his nephews, and to declare, by another deed, that he made it over in trust for himself during the continuance of his life; and, afterwards, for such purposes as he should appoint. The Archbishop was much pleased with this suggestion, and begged him to draw up a form of the deed; he immediately complied, and left directions in writing for filling up the blanks. "It touched my spirits extremely," says Mr. North, in giving an account of this visit, "to see the low estate of this poor old saint; and with what wonderful regard and humility he treated those who visited him, and who were not worthy to serve him, and particularly myself."* Mr. North, having performed this service, took the blessing of the dying Archbishop, and left him after a short visit of about an hour.

During the whole course of his languishing sickness, we are told by those who had the nearest access to him, there was not the least appearance of disturbance or discomposure; but the same meekness of spirit which had always calmed his passions under former dis-

* See Gutch's *Miscell. Curiosa*, vol. i. pref. p. xxxix.

pensations, now came to his support, and indeed in this last extremity of life appeared more bright and eminent. At one time, when he had shewn his physician his wasted and shrivelled legs and thighs, destitute of flesh and all moisture, he said, "And can these dry bones live." We are told by one who was present with him during the last days of his life, that he was not only contented and willing to die, but that he breathed with ardency after his release from life, still with the most humble resignation to the will of God. He used to express the sense of his heart in these words of the Psalmist, "I will bear the indignation of the Lord, because I have sinned against him, I will lay my mouth in the dust." In his greatest extremities and agonies, he was wont to set before him the great example of our Saviour; for he would say, "as a lamb carried to the slaughter he was dumb, and opened not his mouth." Those eminent virtues of humility and patience, of trust and affiance in God, of universal charity and good-will to men, which, by the long practice of his life, had become habitual and familiar to him, displayed themselves most eminently at this critical season. "We beheld," it is added, "the graces of his life triumphing over the decays of nature, and

becoming both the support and the crown of his death-bed. All which most plainly teaches us how necessary it is to gain a habit of virtue in the days of our health, that we may not have to seek it at that season when we have the greatest occasion to use it."

The piety of his soul, which was always quick and active, cast a holy light upon the gloom of his death-bed scene. It was surprising to behold, in the perfect failure of all bodily supports, what presence of mind he would summon up to his assistance, under the affliction which lay upon him. With what wonderful dexterity and readiness he would alleviate his sufferings by pious and suitable ejaculations, taken out of the Scriptures, or breathed forth from his own pious soul. Whenever a sharp pain, or a dejection of spirits, such as was incidental to the sickness under which he laboured, approached him, he was ever ready to meet it by uttering some divine sentence or some holy prayer. That which came nearest to a complaint was only a description of his wasting condition in these pious words. "Thy hand is heavy upon me day and night, my moisture is like the drought in summer." But even this was joined with a feeling of firm reliance on the providence of God; for, said he,

“ I am low, but must be brought lower yet, even to the dust of death ; but though he kill me, yet will I trust in him.”

We saw at this period, proceeds the narrator of his last illness, his ardent charity both extended and limited, according to the Apostle's direction, “ to all, but especially to them of the household of faith.” His suffering brethren were the principal objects of his charity and prayers, but not exclusive of others ; for, upon the frequent returns of exercises of his devotions, he suited his prayers to the general needs of men, and recommended all his brethren to the divine mercy. In short, if he had any enemies, they were included in his prayers ; in particular, a short time before his last hour, after solemnly praying for a blessing on his family, relations, and friends, he earnestly implored forgiveness for his enemies, as he desired it of God for himself.

That his strong feeling of the rectitude of the course which he had taken, did not narrow or enfeeble his feelings of kindness towards those who differed from him, or prevent his most fully allowing that they also acted from pure conscientious motives, is clear from all his conduct during the close of his life. We have seen in how affectionate a manner he took leave of one of his former chaplains, Mr. Wharton.

His other chaplain, Mr. Needham, came to him, as he lay upon his death-bed. He gave him also his blessing in the most affectionate manner, and, after some other conversation, said thus to him; "You and I have gone different ways in these late affairs, but I trust heaven's gates are wide enough to receive us both. What I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart." Upon this, Mr. Needham modestly attempted to explain the motives which had influenced his conduct; to which the Archbishop replied, "I always took you for honest man. What I said concerning myself, was only to let you know that what I have done, I have done in the integrity of my heart; indeed in the great integrity of my heart."

Throughout his whole retirement, particularly during his last sickness, he never permitted clergymen who had taken the oaths, to perform the offices of religion about him, and never received the communion with them. It appears that reports had been spread in London, that during his last illness, he had changed his practice, and received the communion from the hands of a juror. This report troubled him much; probably, he conceived that the alteration would be construed to imply that he was, now at the close of his life, less firm in maintaining his opinions than he had formerly been.

Accordingly, nine days before his death, he dictated to one of his friends, who was standing by, the following letter, stating what his practice really was. He probably intended that it should remain as a document, in case the matter should be at all called in question.

Nov. 15, 1693.

“ My Lord is sensible of how great concernment it is, who ministers to him in holy things. He never receiveth the sacrament, but with those who come not at the parish and are nonjurors. He never admits any of the irregular clergy to be at the holy offices. As for the rest, if they come when he goes to prayers, he excludes them not. This has been his course.

“ This my Lord dictated to me from his own mouth. You see how ready his apprehension and judgment are.”

The writer* who records this, adds that he never altered his practice afterwards, and that he took especial care that no nonjuror should perform over him the burial service, and even appointed by name the person whom he desired to officiate. The day before he breathed his

* Wagstaffe's Letter from Suffolk.

last, he received the sacrament from Dr. Trumbull, who had formerly been his chaplain, and who was a nonjuror. Dr. Trumbull* came there accidentally that day: he had intended to receive it from the ejected minister of Eye, Mr. Edwards.

As the venerable Archbishop drew near his end, he repeated to those who stood around him, his protestations of the sincerity with which he had acted. He told them that his profession was real and conscientious, and not proceeding from any sinister ends; that he had the very same thoughts of the present state of affairs which he had at first, and that, if the same thing were to be acted over again, he should quit all that he had in this world rather than violate his conscience. In further confirmation of the state of his feelings, in less than an hour before he died, he put up these two hearty and earnest petitions to God,—“that He would bless and preserve his poor suffering church, which by this revolution is almost destroyed; that He would bless and preserve the king, the queen, and the prince, and in his due time restore them to their just and undoubted rights.”

His memory and intellects remained perfect

* Mr. Wharton's MS.

to the last moment. His bodily faculties remained so too to a singular degree. A very short time before he breathed his last, he called for a common prayer-book, and, though one was brought to him of the smallest print, he himself turned to the commendatory prayer, and ordered it to be read. That being performed, he composed himself more solemnly for his departure. He put his hands and arms down to both his sides, and desired his head to be placed lower, thus in a manner laying himself out to receive the stroke of death. In this posture, with the utmost cheerfulness and resignation of spirit, he breathed his last a little after midnight, on the morning of Friday, November the 24th, 1693.

His remains were committed to the earth on the night of Monday, November the 27th. He had marked out the spot where he desired to be laid, in the church-yard of Fresingfield, in the angle between the eastern wall of the church porch, and the southern wall of the church. He had chosen this place for his interment sixteen years before, in case he should die in that country. On his tomb the following inscription, prepared by his own hand, with directions for the manner in which it should be put up, is a lasting document to posterity, if such docu-

ment can be wanting, in addition to the many proofs afforded by all that he did and said, of the real sincerity of heart which influenced his conduct.

(On the right side.)

P. M. S.

LECTOR, WILHELMI, NUPER ARCHIPRESULIS,
(QUI NATUS IN VICINIA)

QUOD MORTI CECIDIT, PROPTER HUNC
MURUM JACET; ATQUI RESURGET: TU
INTERIM SEMPER PARATUS ESTO, NAM HORA QUA
NON PUTAS DOMINUS VENTURUS EST.
OBIIT 24^o NOV. ANNO DOMINI, 1693;
ÆTATIS SUE 77.

(On the left side.)

P. M. S.

William Sancroft was born in this parish. Afterwards, by the providence of God, Archbishop of Canterbury; who, after he had lost all which he could not keep with a good conscience, returned hither to end his life, where he begun it, and professeth here, at the foot of his tomb, that, as naked he came forth, so naked he must return; the Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away; as the Lord pleaseth, so come things to pass; blessed be the name of the Lord.

(Over his head the following verse.)

ST. MATT. 24. 27.

As the lightning cometh out of the east, and shineth even unto the west, so shall also the coming of the Son of Man be.

CHAPTER XII.

HIS CHARACTER, &C.

His personal Appearance—Familiar Habits—Talents and Literary Pursuits—Public Character—Steadiness and Uprightness of Principle—Conduct at the Period of the Revolution considered—Piety—Liberality—Patronage of eminent Men—Conclusion.

ARCHBISHOP Sancroft appears to have been of a slender person, and spare habit of body. His features, as we may judge from the portraits of him which remain, were well turned, and his countenance in its general cast expressive of placidity and meekness, together with much shrewdness and sagacity. His constitution seems to have been never strong: we have found him frequently, at different periods of his life, alluding to his invalid state of health; and his constitutional maladies appear to have gained upon him, as he advanced in years.

Respecting the private habits of his life, the materials which are supplied to us from those who conversed familiarly with him are unfortunately scanty. Mr. Needham, who resided

with him as one of his chaplains during the last six years of his occupying Lambeth Palace, from the year 1685 to 1691, has mentioned a few particulars which describe his great abstemiousness as to diet, the simplicity of his general mode of living, and the regularity with which he divided his hours for devotional exercises and for other employments.

“He was,” he states, “the most pious humble good Christian I ever knew in all my life. His hours for chapel were at six in the morning, twelve before dinner, three in the afternoon, and nine at night, at which times he was constantly present, and always dressed.

“His usual diet, when it was not fast day, was two small dishes of coffee, and a pipe of tobacco, for breakfast; at noon, chicken or mutton; at night, a glass of mum,* and a bit of bread, if any thing.”†

Of Archbishop Sancroft's talents and acquirements, the fruits that remain are fewer than might be desired. It is stated‡ that he always aimed at great privacy in his thoughts and writings, being unwilling to appear in print,

* Mum is ale brewed from wheat.

† See Cole's MSS. in the British Museum. Cole remarks that the account which Mr. Needham here gives of his patron is extremely meagre, and that much more ought to have been said by one who had access to his familiar habits.

‡ See Preface to *Miscellan. Curiosa*, p. xxxii.

and never consenting to do so, from the commands or solicitations of others, when he could with any decency avoid it. But, few as his remaining works are, they are sufficient in value to place him in a rank of considerable distinction for literary eminence. He seems to have been, during the whole of his life, a close and regular student; and, especially in his earlier years spent in the bosom of the University, to have taken a wide range of literary pursuit, cultivating not only the severer and more solid branches of theology, ethics, and natural science, but also the lighter studies connected with works of taste and imagination. He was evidently a keen and quick observer of passing events, and was able to trace with a discriminating eye the nicer traits of the characters of men, and the motives, concealed beneath the surface, by which their conduct was influenced. His talents, it may be inferred from his writings, were rather solid, than bright; and he excelled rather in clearness of understanding and correctness of reasoning, than in power of genius: still there are parts of his writings which claim for him no mean credit for strength and originality of conception. His memory seems to have been strong and retentive; and since, through study and labour, he furnished it with abundant materials, he was able to command a store of

images and illustrations, to be produced as occasion might require. The style which was most natural to him, appears to have been that which consisted of short, pointed and pithy sentences, such as we find in his "Modern Policies," and in some of his familiar letters. In his sermons he is too scholastic and dry as to style, notwithstanding the valuable matter which they contain, and the extensive erudition which they display: much must be attributed to the bad taste in such compositions prevailing in the times in which he was educated and wrote: but still there may be some truth in the remark of Dr. Birch,* that the style of his sermons is more suited to a disciple of Bishop Andrews, than a contemporary of Dr. Tillotson; with this allowance in favour of Archbishop Sancroft, that, as Tillotson was junior to him by many years, in an age when the taste in pulpit compositions was rapidly improving, he possessed superior advantages for acquiring a correct taste, and forming his style on an approved model.

His industry in pursuing his studies and collecting useful information was extraordinary; and it was continued through the period of life, when various avocations pressed upon him, and when the mind generally seeks repose from

* See Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 164.

active and persevering exertion. "It was shameful," says Mr. Wharton in the dedication of his *Anglia Sacra*, in July, 1689, "for a young man to be otherwise than diligent in his studies, and to be remiss in doing the greatest possible service to the church, when he saw most unwearied diligence, as well in reading as in writing, in so dignified a prelate, who had long ago exhausted the whole circle of literature, at a time when he was more than seventy years of age, and weighed down with the cares of church and state." "Your other virtues," he proceeds, "I as a person of far inferior character and condition can only admire; that of diligence and study is the only one which I can imitate."

Another of those who were acquainted with his private habits, Mr. Roger North, bears a similar testimony.* "It was to me," he says, "a wonder to observe the industry of that man. If any presented him, as many did, with discourses upon business depending, he would register them in his own books, with his own hands, using his own exquisite orthography and abbreviations, and mending the English, and periodizing in all places, as it ought to be done; and he did me the honour to do the like, with all that he received of me."

He was particularly diligent as a transcriber.

* See Preface to *Miscellanea Curiosa*, p. lx.

It appears to have been his constant habit to transfer to his common-place books, with the most persevering industry, copious extracts from the printed or manuscript works which he perused. He also carefully preserved all the papers relating to the various business in which he was engaged, laying by the letters addressed to him as well on private as on public topics, and in many instances keeping copies of the letters written by himself. In addition to this, he appears to have been a diligent searcher after original letters of distinguished persons, and documents relating to public transactions, ecclesiastical and civil, for the purpose of transferring them into his collections. The consequence is, that the MSS. which he left behind him are extremely voluminous. It has been said that no person ever transcribed so much with his own hand: it is certain that he displayed a patient industry of research which has not often been exceeded; and, as his collections were made with judgment as well as industry, they abound with much valuable and important matter.*

* In the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, besides three volumes of letters written to Dr. Sancroft at different periods of his life, and from persons of all descriptions, are thirteen volumes (numbered 3786—3798) of miscellaneous collections made by him, relating to a great variety of subjects,

The great features of Archbishop Sancroft's character, as evinced in the general tenor of his life, and in his conduct in the leading public transactions in which he was engaged, have been very variously drawn by friends and adversaries; such is always unavoidably the case with those who have acted a part in great questions which have much divided the opinions of men, and in regard to which those who have firmly adhered to one party, have necessarily incurred the animadversions of the opposite. Bishop Burnet, a man most strongly imbued with the spirit of party, and not very sparing in his animadversions on those whose sentiments and course of conduct were at variance with his own; writing at a time when the passions of men were still heated on the questions that regarded the settlement of the government at the Revolution; and, further, having an impression on his mind, that he had personal grounds of

public and private, many of them having marginal notes written with his own hand. Among Bishop Tanner's MSS. in the Bodleian are a great number of volumes, consisting of extracts on different subjects made by his own hand, collections of MSS. with frequent marginal notes of his own, letters addressed to him, several of his common-place books, &c. In the Lambeth library also, a few of his MSS. are preserved, having remained in the possession of Mr. Wharton, and been purchased among his collection.

complaint against the Archbishop; has infused into the character he has drawn of him an unusual quantity of gall, taking every opportunity of throwing out insinuations to his disadvantage, animadverting with great severity on his failings, and either wholly passing over or touching with a light hand his many excellencies and virtues.* And, as the writings of Bishop Burnet, especially his *History of his Own Times*, have been deservedly popular and generally read, his partial representations have had more weight than they ought, in guiding public opinion as to the character of this venerable archbishop. It is true that full justice was done to his memory by some of his friends

* The manner in which Burnet has treated the memory of this distinguished prelate has not passed altogether without just animadversion. Granger, (see Supplement to his *Biographical Memoirs*,) after quoting Bishop Burnet's delineation of his character, says—"Such is the character of this prelate, as drawn by a contemporary writer (Burnet) who would have considerably softened the harshness of his features, if he had been more like Sancroft, who had a generous and enlarged heart to objects of benevolence. He was highly respected, and great deference was paid to his judgment by the prelates his fellow sufferers, in that difficult and dangerous conjuncture for the church which preceded the revolution: his conduct was indeed judicious and exemplary on that trying occasion."—Bevil Higgons too, in his remarks on Burnet, (p. 201.) has some proper observations on the same subject.

of the nonjuring party;* but, as they wrote on the unpopular side, and many of them in small or occasional works, their statements extended very little beyond their own party, and had small general influence on public opinion.† At

* See particularly the *Life of Kettlewell*; also that of Bishop Bull, written by Mr. Nelson; and the letter from Suffolk by Mr. Thomas Wagstaffe. Thomas Hearne also, the eminent antiquary, a nonjuror, in the preface to his edition of *Otterbourne*, p. 45, passes an encomium on Archbishop Sancroft which is worth transcribing.

“Sancroftus ille est, qui (id quod doctis pariter et indoctis notissimum est) ob fidem in Patrem patriæ illibatam palatiis, honoribus, juribusque omnibus, officio archiepiscopali annexis, vi laicâ pulsus et spoliatus, postea summâ cum animi tranquillitate vitam (quæ profecto probatissima semper, tum in rebus prosperis tum in adversis erat) ad mortem usque egit privatam, omnibus, ne quidem ipsis etiam inimicis, insignitè utcunque improbis, exceptis, eum venerantibus ac honorantibus; utpote qui a maleficiis abhorrens nihil usquam fecerit, quod non probaverit conscientia, quæ in ipso sane adeo recta erat ut eâ ne transversum quidem unguem unquam discesserit.

“Id operæ pretium est (et ad rem nostram maximè attinet) monere, Sancroftum sic uti, in omnigenâ eruditione, (nam interiories scrutabatur et reconditas literas) versatus est, ita et antiquitatum ac historiarum nostrarum fuisse peritissimum: quod plane ipsius ingenio, diligentix et judiciotribuendum est. Hinc et notas (quæ lectoribus non possunt non valde arridere) subinde codicibus apposuit curiosas simul et eruditas.”

† As a proof of the little justice which was done to Archbishop Sancroft's memory for many years after the Revolution, it may be mentioned, that, till the time of Archbishop Cornwallis, his portrait was not even placed among those of the

the distance of time to which we are now arrived from the transactions in which Archbishop Sancroft acted his part, we are enabled to view the characters and conduct of the individuals concerned in them with an eye clear from those prejudices which before dimmed the vision to the light of impartial truth. And it may now be permitted to the biographer of this great and good man, who from conscientious motives refused his allegiance to the government established at the Revolution, to do full justice to his memory, without incurring the suspicion of being unfriendly to those great principles which produced that important event in our history, and have since justified it in the judgment of all posterity.


Archbishops, at Lambeth Palace: Mr. Baker states, that he was informed by Dr. Farmer, Master of Emanuel College, that "not one of Archbishop Sancroft's successors had spirit or generosity to hang up his picture in the palace, till Archbishop Cornwallis, observing the portrait of him in the gallery at Emanuel, requested his (Dr. Farmer's) leave to have a copy of it taken; this was done accordingly, and the portrait sent to Lambeth"—"a mark," he adds, "of moderation as well as good sense and liberality," in the Archbishop who gave the order.—See Cole's MSS. at the British Museum, v. 49. 399. To this anecdote it should be added, that his grace the present archbishop has, in addition to the portrait just mentioned, placed also in the gallery at Lambeth the original portrait of Archbishop Sancroft, from which the engraving at the beginning of these volumes is taken.

The grand feature in Archbishop Sancroft's character is his firm and unbending integrity, his lofty and immoveable uprightness of mind, which made him, on all occasions, steadily adhere to that cause which he believed to be right, and postpone to this proud feeling every consideration of worldly interest.

“ Even in his greener days,” as his panegyrist expresses it, “ this great quality of his soul was ripe and perfected.” Bred up a true son of the Protestant church, and in firm attachment to the kingly form of government, he could never be brought to countenance, in any shape or degree, the measures which were directed to the subversion of the altar and the throne, to approve the actors in those scenes of rebellious guilt, or to acquiesce in their acts when success had unhappily crowned them. At the time when the oaths of the Covenant and the Engagement were pressed through the nation for the purpose of propagating and confirming rebellion, he had lately risen into life : examples abounded on every side of him, of persons of more advanced years, and more ripened experience than himself, who were induced readily to comply with all that was required by the prevailing powers of the day ; and there was every appearance that, without bending to these usurped authorities, the door

to worldly advancement and emoluments must be closed. Still, standing firm on those high principles which education and reflection had deeply fixed in his mind, he determined to spurn at all policy which was not grounded on sound conscientious feeling; and, by suffering at last expulsion from his fellowship, he seemed to deprive himself, for conscience sake, of all on which the comforts of his future life depended.

In the later periods of his life, his firm courage in pursuing the path of conscientious duty was put to the test in a different manner, and came out approved from the trial. Although he was a steady and unshaken friend to the monarchical form of government, as he had fully shown by the sacrifices he had made in support of it, he was by no means prepared to support the encroachments of arbitrary power on the liberties of the people; and, least of all, when those encroachments were intended to pave the way for the introduction of religious doctrines which he conscientiously disapproved. From the feeling of respect which he bore to James as his sovereign, he was manifestly unwilling to appear as the open opposer of his measures; and, therefore, abstained from such opposition as long as he felt that his duty permitted him so to do. But, when he once de-



terminated that resistance to his unlawful attempts was absolutely necessary, he acted with all the resolution, steadiness, and spirit which became his station and his character. In the whole affair of the petition of the seven bishops, in which he was the leader both in advising and in acting, and in the subsequent interviews of the bishops with the king respecting the invasion of the kingdom by the Prince of Orange, his whole conduct was firm, temperate, and respectful towards his sovereign; evincing his full determination not to recede from the line of duty, and at the same time his great reluctance to oppose in a quarter where he was desirous only of obeying.

In the part which he took, at and subsequently to the Revolution, however questionable some particulars of his conduct may be, we perceive, beyond all possibility of doubt, the same triumph of conscientious principle over every worldly consideration, and over every inferior motive of action. In refusing his assent to the exclusion of the abdicated monarch from the throne, many powerful feelings must have impelled him to a contrary decision. Attachment to the Protestant church was known to be a master principle in his mind. No one could have been more con-

vinced than he was, of the fixed and gloomy bigotry of James, of the general insincerity of his character, of his fixed design to establish Popery in the kingdom, and of the impossibility of relying on his promises and assertions. Thus he must have felt, as strongly as any one could do, the evils connected with retaining that monarch on the throne; but still, from the feeling that his right to that throne was indefeasible, he would not consent to his exclusion. With this impression on his mind, to transfer his allegiance to another, was to involve himself in the guilt of perjury; and he shrunk from so doing, with the feeling natural to a religious and upright mind. "He chose rather," says Mr. Nelson, "to be deprived of all his honours and revenues than to violate his conscience, or stain the purity of those principles which he had uniformly defended."

The great point which has been urged against him, and which strikes every one at first sight in considering the course which he pursued, is the seeming want of consistency in first promoting the measures in opposition to James, which led to the Revolution, and then disapproving the result. On this subject, some discussion has already taken place.* The real ob-

* See Chapter X.

jection to the line of conduct which he adopted does not apply to his want of consistency, for he appears to have maintained to the last the very same views with which he set out, but to his want of discernment in not rightly apprehending the consequences of the measures in which he joined, and in expecting from them a result different from that to which they naturally and directly tended.

There is every reason to suppose that he never intended or contemplated the expulsion of James from the throne. His object manifestly was to procure the assembling of a free parliament which might put a stop to the arbitrary and illegal measures of that sovereign, free him from the entanglement of evil counsels, and place the civil and religious liberties of the country on a firm footing of security. He saw, as the result of his experience of James's character, that there was no hope of effecting these objects without some open resistance to his measures; and therefore it was that he stood up himself as an opposer, and that he acquiesced in the invasion of the kingdom by the Prince of Orange: for, although he did not concur directly or indirectly in inviting the Prince, yet, by refusing to express his disapprobation of his design, he must certainly be considered as having acquiesced in it. But,

beyond this design, of constraining James to alter his course of government, he was never prepared to advance. Here, then, was the point at which he made his firm and immovable stand. In moving up to this point, he actively concurred with others; but nothing could induce him to advance a single step beyond it.* Thus, as the end which he designed to attain was one throughout, and the means in which he concurred bore uniformly towards that end and no other, he seems clearly not to be liable to the charge of inconsistency, whether that charge be applied to the end pursued or to the means employed.

But it is by no means equally easy to justify his discernment, when he so mistook the signs of the times as to expect that matters could stop short according to his views, and that the nation could be satisfied, after the struggle they

* In the "Vindication of Archbishop Sancroft and his brethren," published in 1718, it is remarked, probably with justice as far as the Archbishop is concerned, that, while in the Guildhall Declaration, the last public act in which he joined, there is no offer whatever of the supreme power to the Prince of Orange; the declaration of their readiness to assist him in calling a free parliament, was made with a due reserve of their allegiance to King James, and on the faith of his assurances that he had no design to remove the king, or get possession of the government.

were going through, with leaving, under any circumstances, the sovereign power in the hands of James. After the full experience that had now been afforded of his infatuated bigotry, no rational hope remained that he would ever desist from his designs, as long as he should remain invested with power to carry them on. In consequence, his expulsion from the throne was a direct intended object with many who favoured the design of the Prince of Orange; by more, was foreseen as a probable result of that expedition: and it certainly argued a certain degree of blindness to consequences in the Archbishop and others who agreed with him, when concurring, as they did, in the measures themselves, they discerned not beforehand those results to which they were manifestly leading.

It has already been remarked* that, in declining to take any part in the great measure of settling the government, a measure which demanded all the strength of the counsels of the nation, and in which a person of his high character and eminent station was especially called upon to assist, he must be considered, even under the most favourable view of his conduct, as very deficient in the energy and decision which became him; and here indeed

* See v. i. p. 430.

seems to be the blot upon his character as a public man which it is least easy to wipe off. Still it may perhaps be deemed, in the event of things, a fortunate circumstance that he did follow this course. For the addition of his name and authority to the party adverse to the establishment of a Protestant succession would probably have turned the balance in the House of Peers against the decision of the Commons. Thus either a prolonged disagreement would have taken place between these two branches of the legislature : or else a decision might have been adopted favourable to the eventual resumption of the sovereignty by James ; which would in fact have been, to leave the nation to the probable risk of another struggle for its religious and civil liberties.

That, after the Revolution, he betrayed some indecision and weakness on inferior points ; while on the great matter of refusing to act against his conscience, he remained ever most firm and steadfast : that he showed some little fractiousness of temper in retaining possession of Lambeth Palace, without any possible advantage, till he was ejected by law ; and that he departed from all sound views when he provided for the establishment of a permanent schism in the church, must be allowed by those who are most partial to his memory. Much

may be said in extenuation, no doubt, from the natural effect of an adverse course of events, and of bodily infirmity, on a mind which had then lost something of its vigorous tone, and had thereby become more exposed to the influence of others. But, after all, it must not be disguised that these are partial shades and blemishes in a character which, taken as a whole, presents most powerful claims on our admiration and esteem.

And indeed the general excellencies and virtues of his character were such as would fully make atonement, in the opinion of every candid judge, for much greater errors and imperfections than those which persons most adverse to his memory have ever charged upon him. His piety, as the history of his whole life has evinced, did not consist merely in the regularity of devotional exercise, but was evinced in the influence produced on his feelings and conduct, in his resigned acquiescence under all the dispensations of Providence, in the subjugation of all inordinate worldly passions and desires, in the ardour and animation of his Christian hopes, in the even and cheerful serenity of his mind under disappointment and privation. Under this disposition of mind, we never find him a restless and ambitious seeker of worldly emoluments and distinctions, panting after suc-

cessive steps of advancement, and jealous of those whose interests clashed with his, or who rivalled him in his career; but we rather see him shrinking from those honours which the good opinion of others forced upon him; and after he was invested with *them*, bearing them with meekness and humility; less rejoiced at attaining what so many others coveted, than fearful and anxious lest he should fail in properly performing the great duties to which he was called. By persons unfriendly to his memory it has been said, that he was a gloomy ascetic. Bishop Burnet has even thought proper to call him "a man of monastic strictness and abstraction from the world, dry, peevish, and reserved, so that none loved him, and few esteemed him."* If by the monastic strictness imputed to him, it be merely meant that he was simple in all his habits and modes of living, restrained and moderate in his desires, and exact in the duties of devotion, it will not, and it need not, be pretended that the appellation is wrongly applied to him. But if it be further meant by the terms, that his religious feelings were of a gloomy cast, that he made a merit in practising mortifications and self-denial, that he was an enemy to the innocent pleasures of life, and

* Burnet's Own Times, v. i. p. 392.

that his own turn of mind was morose and melancholy; it may safely be asserted, that not only is there nothing known respecting his private habits of life which justify the imputation, but that all which we do know respecting him, proves the very reverse to have been the fact. Especially in his private letters to his friends, which afford the best picture of the state of his mind at the season of retirement, we uniformly perceive a cheerful course of thought, without the smallest tincture of sour or morose feeling, a disposition to be pleased with every thing around him, and to view passing events in a favourable light; in short, every thing the most remote from gloominess of temper and spirit. As to Burnet's assertion, that none loved him and few esteemed him, the reader must judge, from all that has appeared respecting him, whether the very reverse was not the truth; that all who knew him, warmly loved him; and that, with very few exceptions, even those who most differed from him in opinion, honoured and esteemed him.

Among the more striking features of his character may be remarked a peculiar kindness and tenderness of feeling, displayed at all periods of his life towards his relations and more intimate friends, and especially evinced in his

latter days in his behaviour towards those who differed from him in opinion. Firm and resolute as he was in his own decision, pure as were his own motives of action, he appears ever to have felt that credit was to be allowed to others for motives equally pure. We find him therefore continuing his kind and friendly disposition towards those from whom he differed most, candidly making all allowance for the uprightness of their intentions, and not suffering the variance of their opinions to become a ground of unsocial animosity between them.

His liberality in affording relief to his friends in distress, at a time when his own means were far from affluent, has already been mentioned.* In the elevated station to which he was afterwards raised, he ever showed himself the munificent encourager of great and useful undertakings. His splendid contributions towards the expense of erecting St. Paul's cathedral have been before noticed. Another striking instance of his liberality is afforded in a donation of £1000, in 1680, in aid of the building of Chelsea College. By Emanuel College, the place of his education, and of his residence in the earlier parts of life, his bounty was largely and frequently experienced: in ad-

* See vol. i. p. 98, &c.

dition to smaller donations made at sundry times, he gave nearly £600 towards the erection and furnishing of a new chapel. He further annexed to the college the advowson of his native parish of Fresingfield, purchased for that purpose ; and, at his death, he bequeathed to it the bulk of his valuable collection of books, valued at £2500.*

Amidst these splendid instances of his public liberality, it will not be doubted that his private

* It has been already stated that the Archbishop, within a short period of his death, sent Mr. Needham to remove the portion of his library which he had left in a warehouse at Lambeth, to Emanuel College. From the books which he carried with him to Fresingfield, he appears to have made a reserve for his heirs of those which were suited to the reading of a private gentleman, and to have destined the rest for the college. His MS. papers also he destined for the same quarter, with the exception of such as Mr. Wharton wished to retain. It appears, however, that his executors were backward in fulfilling his intentions. Mr. Wharton found some difficulty in obtaining even those papers which were necessary for his publication of *Laud's Diary* ; and it seems certain that none of the remaining MSS. or of the books from Fresingfield, ever found their way to Emanuel College. See an interesting letter on this subject from Mr. Needham, Archbishop Sancroft's chaplain, given at the end of this chapter. It is stated that Archbishop Sancroft's nephews sold his MS. papers for eighty guineas to Bateman the bookseller ; of him they were purchased by Bishop Tanner, and presented to the Bodleian library. See *Anecdotes of British Topography*, p. 58.

benevolence was largely exercised, although, from not having courted the public eye, it lives in no records to claim the encomiums of posterity. Bishop Burnet has thrown out the insinuation that he was busily employed in amassing a private fortune for his relations; and both he* and Dr. Birch,† the biographer of Archbishop Tillotson, have stated it as a fact, that he actually did raise a large estate out of the archiepiscopal revenues. There is the fullest reason to believe that both the insinuation, and the statement of the fact, are without foundation. Among the records of his family no traces are to be found of his having purchased any private estate, or left behind him what can in any just sense be called a fortune. The sum, which, as we have seen, he expended in erecting for himself a small dwelling after his retirement, and the property accumulated in books and furniture, seem to have constituted the whole or the greater part of what he amassed from the see. As to Bishop Burnet's insinua-

* Burnet endeavours to deprive him of all merit in giving up his high station for the sake of his conscience, by saying that "his deprivation was probably a matter of no great mortification to him, as he had raised an estate in the see of Canterbury, which was probably more than sufficient for one of his retired disposition."

† See Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 346.

tion, it is certainly true that, as his personal desires were most moderate, so his own individual expenses must have been small ; but there is no ground whatever for supposing that he contracted his private habits of life from avaricious motives. On the contrary, all accounts state that he maintained the hospitalities of his high station with the liberality and dignity which became him.* Thus, although it cannot be allowed that it would have been in any sense matter of blame if, after satisfying the just claims which his station imposed upon him, he had been enabled to save some portion of the revenues which he long enjoyed, to benefit his family, or, as in the event of things would have happened, to supply himself with comforts when deprived of his station ; still the fact appears to have been otherwise ; he neither actually saved a fortune, nor husbanded his resources with the view of saving ; and, when he retired from the see to a private station, he appears to have been well nigh reduced to the sum of fifty pounds a year, his paternal inheritance, on which, on the first prospect of the

* Bevil Higgons in his remarks on Burnet's character of Sancroft, in " a short View of English History," says, " the poor of Lambeth were almost maintained by the munificent charities of Sheldon and Sancroft, daily allowances being provided for them."

change, he declared that he could contentedly live.

Of his zealous attention to the various duties of his elevated station, we have had ample evidence in the narrative of his life; but there is one circumstance to which we have not sufficiently adverted; namely, his unsolicited encouragement and patronage, on several occasions, of eminent and learned men. It has already been stated that he appointed Mr. Henry Wharton his domestic chaplain,* and

* Among his other domestic chaplains during his occupation of the primacy, were persons of considerable eminence. The following is a list of all those, in addition to Mr. Wharton, whose names are recorded as having held this situation under him.

Dr. John Batteley.—In 1684, he was Rector of Adisham in Kent, afterwards Archdeacon and Prebendary of Canterbury. He was formerly fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. He wrote *Antiquitates Rutupinæ*, being an inquiry into the antient state of the isle of Thanet, published after his death in 1811, by Dr. Thomas Terry. He also left an unfinished work on the Antiquities of his native town, Bury. His editor says of him, that he was “*tum in Græcis Latinisque literis, tum in recentioribus antiquitatis omnimodæ scriptoribus versatissimus,—theologus consummatissimas, et concionator creber, ardens, facundus.*” His brother published the *Antiquities of Canterbury*.

Henry Maurice.—He was collated in 1685 to the rectory of Chevening in Kent, and afterwards obtained other preferments. He wrote several sermons and other pieces.

distinguished him with preferments, entirely on account of his vast learning and general merits. On similar grounds, he appointed, at the recommendation of Isaac Vossius, then canon of Windsor, the celebrated Paul Colomesius* to the office of his librarian. But the individual who reflects the highest credit on his patronage is that eminent defender of the true Christian faith, Dr. George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's. The Archbishop collated him, in June, 1686, to the Archdeaconry of Llandaff, "entirely," as Mr. Nelson, the biographer of Bishop Bull, states,† "in consideration of the great and eminent services he had rendered to the church of God by his learned and judicious

William Needham, fellow of Emanuel College. In 1689, he was appointed by Archbishop Sancroft to the Chancellorship of St. David's, and was also Rector of Alresford, Hants.

George Thorpe, also fellow of Emanuel.—He was collated to the rectories of Bishopsbourne and Ickham, in East Kent; was afterwards Archdeacon and Prebendary of Canterbury.

Charles Trumbull, Rector of Stisted, in Essex, and afterwards of Hadleigh in Suffolk. He was deprived for not taking the oaths to King William. See Addenda to Ducarel's History of Lambeth Palace, by Rev. Samuel Denne, p. 224.

* This was a learned French Protestant who settled in England. He was collated by Archbishop Sancroft to the living of Eynsford, in Kent; continued to be his librarian till his deprivation, and died in 1692.

† See Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 354.

works.”—“ The manner of Mr. Bull’s receiving the preferment,” Mr. Nelson proceeds, in a well-merited panegyric on the bestower of it, “ added very much to his reputation, because it was conferred upon him by an Archbishop who had a particular regard to the merits of those he advanced, without any solicitation or application ; and, indeed, what could be expected less from so venerable a prelate, who had all those great abilities of learning and wisdom, of piety and integrity, joined with a prudent zeal for the honour of God and the welfare of the church, which qualified him for that eminent station in which the providence of God had placed him ; and yet at the same time was endued with large measures of mortification and self-denial, contempt of the world, and passive courage.”

On the whole, Archbishop Sancroft was greatly eminent in his generation for the manner in which he fulfilled all the public and private duties of life. The various excellencies and virtues which adorned his character, are sufficient to claim for him the tribute of admiration from posterity in general ; but by the protestant members of the church of England, his name must ever be especially cherished with grateful recollection, for the noble stand which he made, at the hour of trial, in defence of the

religious and civil liberties of the country ; a stand to which the preservation of that goodly fabric in church and state, which they inherit from their forefathers, is principally to be attributed.

The following is the letter* alluded to in a former note (p. 90.) from Mr. Needham, Archbishop Sancroft's chaplain, to his brother a fellow of Emanuel College, written about a month after the Archbishop's death. It affords some interesting particulars respecting the Archbishop's intentions in disposing of his property ; and shows that Mr. Needham suspected at that early period what eventually proved to be the case, that the executors were not disposed to fulfil the declared intentions of their lord, further than they could be compelled by law.

Alresford, St. Stephen's day, 1693.

" ——— That my Lord's Grace went to heaven before he had actually made the intended division of his library, I do not at all wonder, considering the nature of his distemper, which daily flattered him with no unlikely expectations of recovering so much strength, as might enable him to have his eye at least, if not his hand too, in that sort of scholar-like toil, in

* See Ayscough's Catalogue in the British Museum. 4223, 130.

which he always exceedingly delighted. Besides, having so frequently and fully, (as I conceived,) declared his intention, and having an entire confidence in the integrity of his nephews, he might perhaps, after my leaving him, become less solicitous about it. But if, through such an omission, there should be any considerable diminution of his Grace's benefaction to the College, it must needs be with manifest injury to his glorious memory, and a direct opposition to his known intentions.

Soon after his Grace's decease, Mr. Green gave me an account of it, and of the difficulties he apprehended, in acting pursuant to what my most honoured Lord had designed. I immediately wrote back to encourage him, and to remind him of what I knew to be his Grace's intention, (and what, I presume, he also knew as well as myself,) persuading him as earnestly as I could, to have no other regard in that affair, but what especially answered my Lord's bountiful and generous designs; that, in this, he would have the greatest satisfaction, it being, (as I thought) a direct duty owing from him to our common patron and benefactor. And I persuade myself he will not at all deviate from it, if the executors call him to it, in whose power, and at whose discretion, I fear, that affair remains to be managed. I wrote to him the sum of what I remembered his Grace was pleased to discourse to me; viz. that at length he had determined where to bestow his books, which was, the College; that, as for all those which were at Lambeth, he desired they should be speedily put into that Society's possession, (and I do not know that he ever took any service I have been able to pay him more kindly than the journey I took to London on that occasion,) which was done accordingly. At my return, with an account of their being lodged safely in your College, and delivering the Master's letter of thanks to him, he was exceedingly pleased; as much, I am sure, with the thoughts of their being so kindly entertained by you, as you could be with the sense of his bounty and affection.

"During my stay there, he more than once repeated, what

he had told me before he dispatched me to London, concerning his intentions, as to that part of his books at Fresingfield; viz. that he intended part of them to be left for the use of the family there, enough to be a good library for a gentleman; but that the books of learning should be for your College. By which I understood his meaning was, that so much of history, geography, and of the arts, as the heir of that family might be supposed to be inclined to, were the sort he intended for that place. And, in particular, I remember he said, he would stock them well with practical divinity, but would be more sparing as to controversy. By which (as indeed by all he said) it seemed very plain to me, that he meant not to leave there a library for a scholar or a divine, but for an ingenious and well inclined heir to an estate. And this, I conceive, both his nephews, Mr. Green, Mr. Sheppard, and Mr. Nicolls, cannot be strangers to. For his Grace made these matters no secret, and I do not remember that he ever discoursed me alone about them, more than once, during my last attendance upon him; it being his manner to have his friends about his bed (if they were within call) when he expressed himself as to this concern. And I ever took it as an unquestionable declaration of his Grace's design, that all his books, (save only such sorts, and fit for such an use, as I before mentioned,) should be given to the College, there to be kept entirely together, as a monument of his Grace's great affection to learning, and of that delight which he took in it himself, during his whole life: he being (as he was pleased to tell me expressly,) very unwilling to have that library dissipated, the collecting of which had been one of the great comforts and pleasures of his life. It was the having them thus kept entirely together, which inclined his thoughts towards building on your ground. And, therefore, should his library be mutilated and maimed of any considerable number of learned, critical, classical, or theological books, before it come to you, I am sure it must grieve his most learned and generous soul, if it be at all capable of any such impressions.

“ And, as to his MSS., he was pleased to declare, that, he not having got them into that order he designed, they were his chiefest care and concern he had in this world not yet fixed as he could wish. He seemed to hope for strength enough to review them, and order them himself; and did not, (as I remember,) name any person to whom he would commit that trust, in case himself were prevented by death. Yet thus much he told me, that such of his papers as related to general learning, copies of records, and extracts, (of which he had many,) and transcripts of pieces which were scarce and curious, which he had got together when he travelled, should all go to the College. And, for the rest, I don't remember that he declared his intentions. This was in September, whilst I was with him. But, before the end of the next month, Mr. Wharton went to pay his duty. And I remember, when I met him at London, in his way towards Norfolk and Suffolk, he told me, (upon my relating to him what I now tell you concerning his Grace's MSS.) that his Grace had heretofore told him, that they should all be left to him: and then his Grace gave him a great many of his papers of great concern and value (as he wrote to me) and ordered him to return to him again at a month's end, if he heard he lived so long; which accordingly he did: and then (as he wrote in the letter which acquainted me with his Grace's death) my Lord carried him to see his papers, bidding him take away at that time what he would of them, promising to leave orders that, after his death, he should have whatever he would of them. This was a full and unquestionable declaration as to his MSS. and the good man was so confident of the effect of it (this being but two days, if I reckon right, before his Grace's translation, for so I must call his departure from us) as to content himself with looking but perfunctorily over them, and taking away with him only a few of them at that time.

“ It grieves me to tell you that he quickly found his error; it being now made a question whether he shall have them or

not; there being no orders left (as is alleged) for disposing of them that way.

“ This, I confess, has an ill glance on your affairs. Yet I cannot but hope all will succeed well, though a generous and public spirit (such as our most honoured Lord's was,) is a blessing but rarely dispensed to the world; and, I doubt, never entailed on any family, notwithstanding the fawning flights of panegyrics and epistles dedicatory.

“ I have one thing more to tell you, which must be whispered into the ears of your worthy society, and in my opinion (considering what may possibly be the event of it) ought to be reckoned one of your undiscoverable secrets. It is this:—When the world began its storm against his Grace, about seven years since, he actually assigned over all his books to his nephew, (his steward,) and the legal right was in him, then, when you received that part of them which is in your possession. This my Lord never told me till I was last at Fresingfield: and he was very intent upon having a written instrument, signed by his nephew, making them over from him to me, for the use and benefit of our College. Clerks were not at hand: but I drew up one, and his Grace was pleased to contrive another form; and we were once at work to finish one, out of both, which might come up to that exactness and extent of expression which his Grace always used. But this seeming to be owing only to an opinion that Mr. March, of Lambeth, (with whom the steward had lodged the books,) would not readily deliver the books to me, without such a writing; and the wording it so nicely, as my Lord seemed to wish, being somewhat troublesome to him, in that weak condition in which he then was, the steward interposed, assuring us that the books would be forthwith delivered to me, upon any short note under his hand, which he gave me accordingly, and it had its effect.

“ Now this, I conceive, gives you title enough to what you are already possessed of. But, if confidence in his executors,

or other accident of his sickness, has prevented his Grace from revoking that assignment, I fear a common lawyer would give you but very slender hopes, if ever you should call in his assistance, to recover by law, what was really designed to be yours without your expending one farthing upon it. And, if zeal to fulfil my Lord Grace's will take its steps forward or backward, only according to lines figured upon paper or parchment in form of law, I should fear greatly for the College's interest, and the honour of his Grace's family. But I will hope more comfortably: and I tell you this only to give you aim as to that sort of address and management towards the executors, which you know very well to judge of, in such circumstances as these, which do not give so fast hold of the remaining part of the library, as yourselves, and, I am sure, our most honoured patron and benefactor, would have wished you to have.

"As to the structure, which his Grace designed for the books, I don't know that he came to any fixed resolution about it; neither had he laid aside the thoughts of it, when I received his last blessing; his mind still running on a new fabric, though of less dimensions than the ground which was measured by his first command to me. It was, I think, that very morning I left him, that he caused me to be let into his study, (all his books being then placed together in that one room, great part of which he had formerly shown me in two garrets,) that I might view them, and give him my opinion, whether that share, which I judged would come to the college, would crowd your library too full, if there were new shelves put up under the windows, and half classes erected betwixt the whole ones? I told him I thought they might stand so not inconveniently; but he still took time to consider, whether it should be so, or a new fabric; and I have heard nothing further since that time."



APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE following is copied from a MS. in the Lambeth library, hitherto unpublished, containing copious extracts made by Dr. Birch from the life of the learned Henry Wharton, written by himself. It is entitled, *Excerpta ex Vitâ MS. Henrici Wharton a seipso scriptâ*. At the beginning is a note in the handwriting of Archbishop Secker to this effect, "Given me by Dr. Birch, his own handwriting." It is dated by Dr. Birch, in March, 174 $\frac{7}{8}$.

The entire original has never been published, and is now probably lost. Dr. Birch, in his life of Tillotson,* mentions that at the time he wrote, it was in the possession of the Rev. Mr. Calamy; and he gives some short extracts from it in his notes. But the loss of the original is in great measure compensated by the following copious abstract of it, containing not only the substance of the whole, but all the more important parts of it extracted in the author's own words.

This piece of self-biography must be considered a great literary curiosity, as well from the celebrity of the person who has thus recorded

* P. 143.

the events of his own life, as from the classical character of the style, and the interesting nature of many of the remarks, and of the matter contained in it.

It is remarkable that a short passage from this same life of Mr. Wharton, not given by Dr. Birch in the following extracts, is preserved in a work where a quotation from it would least be expected. In the *Philosophical Transactions* for 1748, (p. 232.) is a short paper, communicated by a medical person, Dr. Mortimer, in which he states that, "in a MS. account of the life of the Rev. H. Wharton, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, written by himself," he found the following passage, describing his having been born with two tongues. He manifestly quotes it as a curious fact in natural history.

"Mihi quidem ex utero materno exeunti duplex erat lingua, utraque ejusdem figuræ ac magnitudinis; inferiorem exscindendam esse clamârunt mulieres obstetrices; verum id noluit mater puerpera. Pietati ejus obsecundavit fortuna. Lingua enim inferior paulatim emarcuit, et in exiguam pisoque haud majorem lingulam, quæ hodiernum manet, contracta est. Lingua interim superior ad justam crevit magnitudinem, quamplurimis longis profundisque sulcis distincta, an vulneribus laniata, dicam: quæ parallelo situ posita unâ cum lingua creverunt, neque unquam coitura esse videntur."

EXCERPTA

EX

VITA MS. HENRICI WHARTONI, A.M.

A SEIPSO SCRIPTA.

NATUS in agro Norfolciensi, oppido de Worstead, die ix Novembris, 1664, patre Edmundo, A.M. Rectore villæ de Upton, in Agro Suffolciensi, et postea Rectore de Sloley, et Vicario de Worstead, quæ beneficia postrema cum rectoriâ de Saxlingham permutavit.

Matre Susannâ Burr, filiâ Johannis Burr, pannificis satis opulenti in oppido Dedham Comitatus Essexiensis.

Baptizatus 20 Novembris, in ecclesiâ oppidi natalis.

1670. Traditus disciplinæ Magistri Eldred publicæ scholæ Norwalthamensis præpositi, sub quo annum fere eruditus est, et postea sub patre suo.

1676. Feriis natalitiis ducenta disticha de quatuor anni temporibus confecit.

1677. Feriis natalitiis poemation de XII Herculis laboribus plusquam MCC versibus constans composuit.

1678. In Saturnalibus poema de bello Trojano MMM circiter versibus comprehensum condidit.

De moribus suis hæc scribit.

“ Immensa ac effrænis illa, quæ in me semper viguit, laudis cupido; immoderata illa animi ferocia et præceps iracundia, quæ mihi in ætate puerili admodum efferbuit, adeo ut ferocis titulo a familiaribus diu notarer, crebrasque eo nomine patris animadversiones perferrem. In hoc tamen veniam aliquantulum mereri censendus, quod effrænis ille animi impetus paucis momentis defervescere soleret, et, sedato semel æstu, in gratiam iterum redire adeo non recusarem, ut summis etiam id votis (sic mihi semper natura tulit) expeterem, ut eo saltem modo injuriam alteri ab iracundiâ factam, compensarem. Cæterum, quod summæ felicitatis loco habendum duxi, postquam e domo paternâ exieram, et inter academicos versari cæpi, deferbuit et evanuit ille animi æstus, mitemque deinceps, comem, et placidum apud omnes me exhibui; adeo ut integro fere abhinc septennio, nulli me temerè iratum meminerim, cunctorumque, quibuscum mihi res erat, amorem et benevolentiam faciliè demererer.

Id maximè verò notandum venit, quod, cum ob athleticum corporis robur, et calorem plus justo vigentem, in mulierum amorem sim per-

quam pronus, nulli tamen unquam mulieri, nisi perquam invitus, in colloquium descenderim, neque ullam ne verbatò quidem lubenter salutârim: ita denique versatus sim, ut qui me intus et in cute nosse sibi videntur, me pessimum habeant *μισόγγυνον*. Nescio an id factum fuerit odio superbiæ, petulantiae, et ineptiarum, quæ mulieribus jamdiu inolitæ in naturam ferè jam transierunt, quodque serviles illas blanditias et obsequia demissa, quæ a viris sibi exhiberi sequior sexus expetit et exigit, longe infra virilis sexûs majestatem posita existimarem. Forsan et isti animi fastidio nonnihil contulit mei ipsius arrogantia, literatorum consortio penitus indignum judicantis sexum illum, de quo generosæ indolis mulier sententiam dudum tulit, nil scitu dignum exinde edisci posse. Certè toto, quo Cantabrigiæ vitam egi, sexennio, quum et ansa crebrò daretur, et latebræ non deessent, nulli unquam lasciviæ muliebri, ne osculis quidem, me indulsisse memini. Id certò novi, me ad hunc usque diem (vigésimum tertium ætatis annum tum egit cum hæc scripsit) virginitatem illæsam et intactam conservasse.

... Tanto erga Ecclesiam (Anglicanam) zelo præditus, schismaticos, quos Reformatos vocant, angue et canē pejus, semper odi."

1680.—xv Februarii, ad Academiam Canta-

brigiensem, a patre deductus, et tutelæ Johannis Ellys,* Collegii Gonvilii et Caii Socii senioris, commissus, et xviii die togam academicam primùm induit, in pensionariorum minorum numerum cooptatus.

Aprili, logicam studuit, et Novembri ethicam. Novembri, Collegii scholaris factus, dato scholariatu £5½ redditûs annui.

1681.—Februario, philosophicis et mathematicis se applicat; et, paulo post, linguam Gallicam proprio Marte didicit.

1682.—Octobri. “Isto circiter tempore, severam, quam hactenus colui, et illibatam conservaveram temperantiam paulatim amittere incepti, genioque indulgere, inter æquales commessari, bacchoque strenuè litare, haud amplius dubitavi. Factum id primo, ne morosior, et plus justo subtristis existimarer. Forsan et accessit victoriæ amor, quam et in minimis etiam rebus stultus ambivi. Id enim mihi a naturâ datum est, ut prægrandem vini men-

* Mr. H. Wharton's father had formerly been fellow of Gonvil and Caius College. Mr. John Ellys, the tutor, is described as a person of eminent learning, singular piety, and strictness of life; and one who deserved highly of the public for his unwearied pains and most exact diligence in the education and government of youth. See *Life of H. Wharton*, prefixed to his *Sermons*.

suram illæso cerebro perpotare possem ; vini tamen adeo non appetens, ut nunquam ad pocula nisi perquam invitus descenderem ; certe consuetam legendi scribendique diligentiam nunquam intermitterem, quin potius temporis poculis dati jacturam duplicato posteriori diei labore resarcirem. Utcunque tamen, seu nimia id animi facilitate, seu amicorum consortii amore factum, labem istam ante relictam penitus academiam excutere non potui.

1683.—Die ix Maii, in scholis publicis respondentis vices obii, et de sono aliisque duabus quæstionibus philosophicis, miro applausu disputavi.

Postero die in rus me proripui ; desævientibus enim in oppido et collegio variolis, pater me domum jamdiu evocarat.

Sub id circiter temporis (Augusto vel Septembri) a juvenculâ quâdam virgine, formæ satis liberalis et illibatæ hactenus famæ, summis blanditiis ad stuprum sæpe invitatus, parum abfuit quin pudicitiae naufragium fecerim.

Exeunte Septembri, ad academiam me contuli, et x die Decembris, primarii opponentis munere mihi demandato, de cometis, Dei existentia et terræ motu, contra Nath. Tate, S. Johannis Collegii alumnum, juvenem doctissimum, summo applausu disputavi.

1684.—Mense Januario, baccalaureatûs* pileo donatus.

1685.—Mortem ejus (Caroli II.) immaturam summo animi dolore excepi (quod sequitur lineâ obductum est,) Pontificii Hæredis fraudes et versutiam et secutura exinde mala tum temporis etiam facilè auguratus.”

Mense Martio, linguam Italicam intra quinque septimanas didicit.

1686.—Mense Martio, Academiam reliquit hâc occasione. “ Sub initium ejusdem mensis, Guil. Cave, S. T. P. Canonicus Windesoriensis, et Ecclesiæ de Islington prope Londinum Vicarius; vir ob multifariam eruditionem ac penitissimam antiquitatis Ecclesiasticæ scientiam celeberrimus, grande ac prolixum de Scripturis Ecclesiasticis opus jam diu meditatus, amicis suis, ac imprimis Mag^o. Barker, Collegii nostri socio, et nominis mei studiosissimo operam dedit, ut sibi juvenem inter academicos non ineruditum qui sibi opus conceptum parturienti suppetias ferret, et ad manum esset, conquirerent. Istam mihi provinciam demandavit

* The writer of his life (see the last note) says, that, on taking his bachelor's degree, he had deservedly the first place given him by the proctor of the University, the learned Mr. William Needham, fellow of Emanuel College, who was afterwards his dear friend, and fellow chaplain at Lambeth to Archbishop Sancroft.

Barkerus, quam quidem libentissimè accepi, eo usus consilio, ut efformatis in melius ac feliciter inchoatis sub tanti viri auspicio studiis theologicis, post semestrem moram collegium redirem, ubi me (ut tunc non vana ferebant auguria) socii locus proximè vacaturus manebat. Salarium mihi decem librarum annum promisit Dr. Cave, aliaque exinde commoda statim obventura exaggeravit Barkerus; adeo ut, convasatis mox rebus, abitum molirer. Die itaque 24 Martii, Londinum eques perrexi, ac die proximo in Doctoris Cave familiam me dedi.

Duram sane mihique ingratham admodum provinciam in introitu nactus sum. Doctor enim ille, rejecto in Septembrem sequentem operis sui inchoandi consilio, levia plerumque et desultoria instituit studia. Me sibi itaque diu noctuque assidentem varios subinde libros sibi obambulanti et plerumque dormitanti adlegere volebat. Morosum adhuc viri ingenium et protervos mores, avaritiam autem turpissimam, odio habui. Latentem tamen animi ægritudinem hilari fronte obvelavi; quin et ille maximum semper erga me affectum professus est, et (uti credo) infucatum habuit. Ego interim studiorum theologicorum fundamenta posui, ab Arminii, Episcopiique operum et Grotii in Novum Testamentum annotationum lectione auspicatus. Linguæque Hebraicæ ele-

menta didici, adeo ut, continuato per semestrem spatium horis subsecivis literarum Hebraicarum studio, accuratam satis linguæ istius notitiam consecutus fuerim."

About the middle of April, goes to Windsor with Dr. Cave, where he becomes acquainted with Dr. Fitzwilliam and Dr. Doughty, canons of that church, and Mr. Robert Cannon, Fellow of King's College, Cambridge, and Chaplain of Eton College, and with Matthews, a Romish priest, who then said mass privately, by the king's command, in Windsor Castle. "Vir erat supra communem sacrificatorum sortem eruditus, subtilis satis, ac facundus, omni tamen antiquitatis ecclesiasticæ cognitione penitus destitutus, Romanæ superstitioni et pontificiæ monarchiæ perditissimè addictus, adeo ut Gallos Venetosque schismaticos revera esse affirmare nequaquam dubitaret. Huic in vivario (regio) sæpe obviis manus conserui, protractâque per plures horas disputatione sæpissime incalui. Ille verò libidine non minus quam zelo æstuans, non solum animum corrumpere sed et corpus vitare in votis habuit. Mihi enim ætatem imberbem tum agentem liberalem satis formam concesserat natura, cum vultûs nitorem nondum depascere variolæ. Quo minus animum corrumpere sacrificulus, obstitit causæ, quam tuebatur, imbecillitas, et argumentorum a me

disputanti oppositorum robur. Libidinosum autem animi votum mollioribus artificiis sectatus est. Maximam enim præ se ferens amicitiam, me per silvestria et amæna regionis circumjacentis loca circumduxit. Latibula, quibus ante annos aliquot sese abscondere solebat, ostendit. Fabulas miscuit, mox impuris sermonibus libidinem provocare conatus in densam abduxit silvam, et scelestum animi propositum revelavit. Nefandam sacrificuli libidinem detestatus exarsi; justum tamen animi furorem, quantum potui, compressi, ne famæ suæ homicidio consuleret vir scelestissimus. Ille etenim gladio accinctus incessit; mihi nulla præter illibatam animi castitatem arma adfuerunt. Quam implere non potuit, excusare incepit libidinem bonus sacerdos, se Romæ educatum Italicæ libidinis sordes simul hausisse confessus: me forsân in mulierum, illum in adolescentulorum amorem pronum esse. Maximopere demum obtestatus est, uti nulli unquam turpitudinem suam patefacerem. Sanctissimè id promisi, meque ab ejus consortio deinceps subduxi, licet salutationem obvio non denegaverim, eumque maximâ veneratione a rege honestatum conspexerim.

Die primo Julii, Islingtonam rediimus.

Die primo Octobris Doctorem Cave Windsoram comitatus sum, ubi operi jamdiu con-

cepto initium dedimus; haud tamen auspicatò; nimis arctis enim positis fundamentis, tota nobis postea retexenda fuit tela.

Die itaque 29 Octobris Islingtonam reversi, post quadriduum Historiam Literariam (id nominis enim operi nostro imponendum erat) iteratò auspicati sumus. Scriptorum fere omnium a Christo ad annum 370 historiam antea conscripserat Cave, et penes se manuscriptam habuit. Hanc paucis additis descripsi, integramque lucubrationum ab istis scriptoribus exartarum seu iis suppositarum historiam proprio Marte concinnavi. Rarò enim illa in Cavi autographo habebatur. Præterea, addendi erant minoris notæ scriptores quam plurimi, et in his omnes hæretici, quos intactos omiserat Cavus. Hoc mihi muneris plerumque datum est, quod et sedulo perfeci. Summo enim animi studio in hoc opus consummandum incubui. Postquam annum 370 transieramus, integra et de novo nobis erat condenda historia, cui ad annum usque 400 juncto opere desudavimus. Plures ille suo, haud pauciores et ego meo, Marte descripsi. In majoribus vero scriptoribus, puta Hieronymo, Augustino, &c. hanc iniimus viam, ut ego vitam illorum perlegerem, et in compendium quoddam contraherem; ille ex compendiolo isto historiam scriptoris illius concinnaret; quod plerumque fecit, resectâ

unicâ aut alterâ sententiâ. Mihi tamen semper librorum historiæ et critices contexendæ data erat provincia. Quod ut efficerem, innumeros ferè tam veterum quam recentiorum tractatus mihi pervolvere necesse erat.

Sæculorum priorum quatuor historiam exeunte anno complevimus.

1687.—Dein, toto mense Januario ac Februario dimidio sequentis anni eam relegimus et elimavimus, nactique Cl. Usserii bibliothecam theologicam MS. eam accuratè pervolvimus, quæque nostro proposito idonea viderentur, excerptimus.

His finitis, ad historiam literariam ulterius continuandam nos accinximus, eâdem ferè usu studiorum methodo et ratione, quâ ab anno 370 ad annum 400, nisi quod Cavi studium et diligentia paulatim refrigesceret, ac tandem penitus evanesceret; adeo ut in sæculi quinti historiâ texendâ permodicum fecerit; in sexto sæculo, parum; in sequentibus fere nihil. Illi enim plerumque moris erat mihi scribenti, librosque pervolutanti, tacitum assidere, aut fabulas enarrare, foco somniantis ad instar insidere, aut per bibliothecam obambulare, libros mihi afferre ac referre; de re dubiâ consulenti quæstionem solvere, et, quandocunque res tulerit, Londinum ad amicos invisendos se subducere; vel, si

domi manendum esset, ægrotum se seu simulare, seu somniari."

A fellowship in his college being expected to be vacant, and being intended for him, it was necessary to qualify himself by going into orders; for which purpose, on the 18th of February, 168 $\frac{4}{7}$, he applied himself to the Bishop of Durham (Crew), Peterborough (White), and Rochester (Spratt), who had the administration of the see of London, "*loco episcopi legitimi iniquitate regiâ anno præcedente suspensi.*" The Bishops of Durham and Rochester objected to the ordaining him, as being uncanonical, since he had not completed his twenty third year. But the Bishop of Peterborough insisting that he should be examined, he passed through his examination relating to the ancient discipline of the church, the old errors, heresies, and writers, and especially concerning the opinions of Origen and Arius, with such success, that all the bishops resolved to give him orders.

"Finito examine, Episcopus Dunelmensis, quem summa mei admiratio ceperat, atque ideo forsân major, quod indoctus præ aliis præsul esset, summa mihi coram reliquis episcopis pollicitus est, si in manus ac familiam ejus metipsum traderem, se nempe beneficium Ecclesiasticum opimum mihi, quam primum ætas

mea id permetteret, donaturum esse. Libenter quidem et sponte meâ, et Petriburgensis admonitu id feci, summisque ab eo promissis cumulatulus discessi."

Examined the next day by Dr. Beveridge, Archdeacon of London, and, on the 26th of February, ordained deacon by the Bishop of Peterborough, at St. Peter's, Cornhill.—A few days after, (he) visits the Bishop of Durham, according to his orders, who repeats all his former promises, but desires him to stay with Dr. Cave, till he had taken his degree of M. A. and then to come and settle in his family. He frequently afterwards visited the Bishop, who renewed the same promises.

"*Historiæ interim literariæ, junctâ cum Cavo operâ, insudavi, licet ipse post annum millesimum aut parum aut nihil conferret. Medio circiter Maio, historiam ad annum usque 1275 deduxeramus, cum Windesoram pro more abeundum fuit. Die itaque 19 Maii Windesoram profectus, ubi post bidui moram Cavo desiderium altâ jamdiu mente repostum mihi exposuit. Cum me enim e familiâ ejus sub sequentis mensis exitum (prout ipsi denuntiaveram) egressurum expectaret, de incepto opere ad umbilicum perducendo desperare cæpit. Me itaque rogavit ut Islingtonam reversus finem communi operi propediem imponerem. Postulatis ejus*

haud invitus concessi, quippe ut opus inchoatum tandem aliquando absolveretur, e communi re erat.

Windesoram tamen ad diem usque 26 Maii substiti, quo Sunderlandiæ comes periscelidis ordini solenni pompâ inauguratus est. Die postero, Islingtonam redii, ac penso absolvendo sedulus incubui, die noctuque labore continuato. Familiam mihi curavit honesta quædam anus, quæ eum filiâ suâ absentis doctoris ædes incolere solebat.

Statim post reditum Islingtonam advenit Cavus, res domesticas curaturus, ac septimanæ circiter moram fecit. Historiam tamen literariam adeo parum curavit, ut vix bibliothecam suam inviseret, cum me de operis progressu et ratione haud semel sciscitatus fuerit. Discedens verò mihi sanctissimè promisit, me, quondocunque opus typis commissum evulgandum esset, famæ non minus exinde comparandæ seu tituli, quam laboris, participem fore.

Laborem itaque utcunque gravem non invitus urgebam; jamque ad M. Antonium Coccium Sabellicum perveneram, cum opus ferè absolutum gravi casu intermissum fuerit." For on the 25th June, going in the morning to London to take a place in the coach to Cambridge, in order to take his Master of Arts degree there, upon his return home he found a pain in his

head and back, which proved to be the small pox, though he at first neglected the eruption as only a rash; and, the pustules being thrown in again, on the 30th of June there was little hope of his recovery. Upon the first day, on which he took to his bed, he had written to his tutor to represent his case, and to desire that a friend of his might be installed Master of Arts in his room, which was done on the 5th July: and on the 16th he was so well recovered, as to rise from his bed, and on the 1st August to go abroad. The expense of his illness and cure having cost him almost £10, besides what was due to Mr. Hodgskins, the apothecary; his father sent him £9, which was the last money he received from him; £181 from the time of his coming to the University.

“*Pristinas sedes Islingtonæ habitare pergens, ubi familiam exiguam impensis propriis nutrivit, opus Historiæ Literariæ morbo intermissum denuò aggressus sum, idque ad umbilicum medio circiter Augusto feliciter perduxit.*”

About this time, he became acquainted with Dr. Tenison, at whose request he translated into English from the Latin, and digested into a more easy and popular form, Mons. Placette's MS. Treatise concerning the incurable scepticism of the Church of Rome, which he finished in two weeks.

In the beginning of September, he began his treatise of the celibacy of the Clergy, and finished it by the middle of October.

In the middle of September, the Bishop of Durham returned to London. “*Illum die 22° conveni, promissa ejus, mihi toties iterata, finem denuò consecutura sperans. Verùm levis iste ac versipellis episcopus, promissionum non tam immemor quam eas parum curans, sibi res adeo mutatas esse causatus est, ut promissa implere non posset, rectius verò nollet; summum erga (me) favorem, rerumque mearum studium animo suo infixum esse professus. Summam levis-simi viri perfidiam detestatus ad Doctorem Tenison rectà me contuli, cum eo enim mihi aliis de rebus agendum est.*” The Doctor was glad to see him, being just going to send his servant to him, having the day before received a letter from the Honourable John Arundel, eldest son of Richard Lord Arundel, of Trerise, desiring him to recommend a tutor for his only son, and promising to confer on the said tutor the living of Selworthy, near Mynehead, in Somersetshire, a rectory of £160 per ann. Mr. Wharton accepted the offer, but not being of age by above a year to be instituted into the living, he agreed with Mr. Solomon Cooke, B. D. Fellow of Queen’s College, Cambridge, and brother of Mr. Shedrach Cooke, Lecturer of

Islington, to hold it for one year, receiving all the profits, and then to resign it, and be curate for half the income. Mr. Cooke was accordingly instituted into the living by the Bishop of Bath and Wells, on the 18th of October.

In the mean time, Mr. Wharton continued in Dr. Cave's house, and on the 16th October wrote at Dr. Tenison's request an answer to *Speculum Ecclesiasticum*, by T. Ward, a Roman Catholic soldier.

Dr. Cave and his family returning to town, he went to Ridge, between Barnet and St. Alban's, on the 25th October; and, though he was seized with a rheumatism, he wrote a sermon, and preached for the first time there the Sunday following, October 30th, for the vicar, Mr. Mills, who was absent.

He returned to London November 2d, and, his patron not being come to town, he lodged at Mr. Barrow's, in Thames Street. A few days after, he was persuaded to undertake a confutation of the defence of the *Speculum Ecclesiasticum*; he wrote it on the 14th November; and, being joined to the former answer, it was published on the 20th.

His patron, now Lord Arundel by the sudden death of his father, came to London on the 16th of that month, and took a lodging in Great Queen Street, where Mr. Wharton was intro-

duced to him by Dr. Tenison, and it was agreed that he should come into his family about eight days after. During which he went to Cambridge, in order to examine the MSS. there; several eminent divines of London having often requested him to make such a search there, as he had already done in the royal library at St. James's; and Mr. Chiswell, the bookseller, furnishing the expense of the journey, and having a design to publish a collection of English historians not yet published, desired Mr. Wharton to mark what he thought worthy of publication. He accordingly went to Cambridge, November 21st, and having searched the libraries, and made extracts, returned to London on the 2d December, and went to Lord Arundel's on the 7th.

On the 28th November, his Treatise of the Celibacy of the Clergy was published, and his "Incurable Scepticism" on the 12th December, for each of which pieces he received ten guineas of the booksellers.*

* It is stated in his published Life that "this and his other pieces so raised his reputation, that the Romanists were anxious to gain him over to their party, and the most excellent pieces were sent to him out of France for that purpose. But, to use his own expression, (probably from this Life of himself, of which Dr. Birch has made extracts,) *quo magis Pontificiorum scripta pervolvi, eo leviora et futiliora illorum argumenta mihi*

13th of December, he visited the Bishop of Ely, who, having read his Treatise of the Celibacy, expressed great esteem for him, as did many other persons of distinction, whom he met with that month.

The same day, the French history of the Inquisition of Goa* was put into his hands by several persons of learning, who desired him to translate it into English, which he did in a few days at his leisure hours, and, having wrote a preface to it, on the 24th of December, gave the translation to Dr. Tenison.

Having brought from Cambridge a Treatise of Reginald Peacock, Bishop of Chichester, proving the Scripture to be the rule of faith, some learned friends thinking it proper to be published, in the beginning of the year 1688 he prepared it for the press, and wrote a preface to it; and having finished the work on the

semper visa sunt.—It is added that, “what their weaker arguments failed in, his own more solid performed; reducing one of excellent parts to our communion, which he had in his younger days been unhappily prevailed upon to desert: who, in testimony of the reality of his conversion, received from his hands the blessed sacrament at St. Martin’s church, leaving a schedule of his abjuration of Popery, in the hands of Rev. Dr. Tenison, then vicar there.”—See *Life of H. Wharton*, prefixed to his *Sermons*.

* Written by M. Dillon.—*Life of H. Wharton*.

7th January, he gave it to the bookseller, who allowed him five guineas for it.

8th January. He translated into Latin the Prologue and Epilogue to Eunomius's Apologetical Treatise, which he had before transcribed from a MS. of Dr. Tenison.

9th and 10th of the same month, he read several Latin lives of Ignatius Loyola.

12th.—He visited the Archbishop of Canterbury, who received him with great civility, and promised him some great favours. He left his collections relating to the Cambridge MSS. with the Archbishop, and carried back an Imprimatur for Bishop Peacock's Treatise.

13th.—Mr. Joseph Watts, a bookseller, desired him to take care of an edition of Dr. Thomas James's Treatise of the Corruptions of Scripture, Councils, and Fathers, by the Prelates, &c. of the church of Rome.

“*Lametham antea se contulerat (Watts) licentiam a Doctore Batteley Capellano Archiepiscopi postulaturus. Noluit id dare Batteleius, nisi phrases Jamesii duriusculæ emollirentur; utque id auspicatò fieret, bibliopolam ad me remisit. Laborem haud illibenter in me recepi, cumque Doctorem Cave et Mag^m Cooke horis pomeridianis invisissem, rei inchoandæ vespertinas addixi. Horas matutinas spurix S. Macarii Homiliæ e Lipsiâ nuper transmissæ de*

de exitu animæ e corpore Latinè vertendæ impenderam.

Die 15.—Additamentis nonnullis Tractatum de Cælibatu meum auxi. Jamesio emendando finem imposui.

Septimanâ sequente, plurima e vitis Ignatii excerpta collegi, aliosque ejusmodi libros pervolvi; jamdiu enim observationes in vitam ejus scribendi consilium inieram.

Ineunte Febuario, a Rich. Chiswell bibliopolâ enixè exoratus Bullam Papalem in Cœnâ Domini e Bullario exscripsi, Anglicâ versione ornavi, ac præfatione haud ita brevi munitam illi imprimendam dedi, religiosum silentium stipulatus.

Die 4 Febr^{ri}.—Magister Needham, quem Lamethæ invisi, versionem Historiæ Inquisitionis Goanæ a me mense Decembri adornatam suppressendam suasit, quippe cum sine maximo discrimine typis a me committi non posset. Consilio ejus obsecutus sum, et versionis impressionem in æquiora, quæ calidissimis votis exoptamus, tempora rejeci.

Die 10.—J. Watts bibliopola me convenit, mihiq; guineam Jamesii emendati munus obtulit, utque versionem Dialogi Gallici inter Philaethen et Phileræneum a se nuper procuratam reviserem et emendarem, rogavit. Rem suscepi, horisque pomeridianis diei 12 perfeci.

Die 15.—Observationes in Ignatii Loyolæ vitam scribere incepti.

Die 26.—A Mag^o Gee rogatus ut Tractatum de Corruptione Conciliorum mox recudendum iterum perlegerem et corrigerem, rem horis pomeridianis confeci.

Die 7 Martii.—Observationibus in Ignatii vitam scribendis finem imposui. Titulum libello indidi, Enthusiasmus, &c.*

Die 10.—Doct^m Cave Islingtonæ invisi; cumque ex nonnullis indiciis suspicionem conciperem illum me debitâ famæ parte in editione Historiæ Literariæ indies festinatâ defraudatum ire, colloquium cum illo eâ de re habui. Et labor enim a me susceptus, et ab illo sanctè data fides postulârunt, ut nomen meum in fronte operis poneretur. Re verò illi demum propositâ a fide pariter ac justitiâ resiliit vilissimum gloriæ mancipium, meque nihil omnino istius operis ante annum 1275 conscripsisse præter Pontifices Romanos ferè omnes, asserere non erubuit. Effrictam viri frontem miratus, maximam indignationem concepi: iram tamen utcunque compressi, deque injuriâ mihi factâ expostulavi. Graviter aliquandiu altercati sumus; tandem ille se prælo obicem positurum, opusque nunquam editurum esse, comminatus est. Tot mensium laborem interire ægrè tuli; Pontificiorum sarcasmata in utrumque sum ve-

* It was entitled, Tractatus de Enthusiasmo Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

ritus, apertoque memet bello immiscere nolui. Postquam igitur rixatum est satis, ut nomen meum e titulo tolleretur consensi, eâ conditione, ut in præfatione operis, præclarâ mei mentione factâ, totum opus ab anno 1275, omnesque ab anno 400 Pontifices Romanos solâ mei operâ confectos esse luculenter agnosceret. Sanctè id promisit ille (ipse enim prius obtulerat) seque formulam mihi intra dies paucos missurum esse in se recepit.

Die 12.—Schedas aliquot Historiæ Literariæ mihi misit Dr. Cave, ut nonnulla, quæ mihi e re visa fuerunt, adderem, rogans. Literas ad eum remisi, quibus, ut promissam formulam literis statim mandaret, conditionibus prædictis nequaquam mutatis, postulavi. Rem ab illo petitam, diem totum operi impendens, confeci. Tandem, serâ nocte, literas ab illo accepi, quibus ut labori parcerem, postulavit; se enim conditionibus istis nequaquam assentire posse, mecum tamen eâ de re quam libentissimè coram acturum esse.

Die itaque 13, eum Islingtonæ revisi; formulam ab eo conscriptam perlegi, verùm approbare neutiquam volui. Præter encomium enim magnificum, longè supra meritum, certè præter votum meum, nihil aliud continebat, quàm me sibi in opere concinnando multifariam suppetias tulisse, præcipuè verò in conscribendis Pontifi-

cum vitis insudâsse, majorique diligentîâ in postremis duobus sæculis usum esse. Rejectâ formulâ, diu altercati sumus; ille sese opus nunquam editurum esse præ se tulit; jamque typographis inducias dederat. Ipse rem haud ægrè ferre simulavi, schedasque omnes a me, illo absente, conscriptas repetii; meque, siquando opus ederetur, dimidiatum tituli honorem expectare obtestatus sum. Schedas ille reddere detrectavit, multasque iniecit remoras. Memet verò acrius repetente, totumque salarium mihi ab illo, dum scriberentur, datum repetere pollicito, medelam causæ aliquam sibi excogitandam sensit. Primò itaque mihi dimidium, quod a bibliopolâ stipulatus erat, operis pretium dare obtulit, modò formulam ab illo conscriptam acciperem. Cum verò illud indignabundus respuerem, nonnullam tamen causæ meæ jacturam facere haud gravarer, tandem istiusmodi conditionem proposuit, ut ipse nonnisi 13 priora sæcula sub nomine suo evulgaret, ut auxilium meum in concinnandâ istorum sæculorum historiâ, eâdem usus formulâ, agnosceret; ut tria sequentia sæcula sub unico mei nomine ederentur, titulo appendicis, ut sæcula ista mihi statim in manus consignarentur, pro libitu augenda, mutanda vel resecanda, ac bibliopolæ pro arbitrio vendenda. His conditionibus tandem assensi; schedas accepi ac mecum demum retuli.

Unica tamen pacto inerat difficultas, quod ipse partem sæculi 13 ipso absente conscripseram. Eam ille a me petere non erubuit, ipseque petenti elargitus sum. Cæterum notari mereatur, illum in isto colloquio et longè majorem operis partem a me scriptam esse, et dimidiatum tituli honorem a se olim promissum esse agnovisse; se verò in promittendo nihil aliud quam quale formula prædicta præ se tulit, voluisse, Deum testem adhibuit, quasi verò promissa ex intentione promittentis, non ex vi verborum æstimanda sint. Quod ad prius verò attinet, memet omnia sponte, non mandato ejus, conscripsisse allegavit, quasi demum omnes authores libros sponte suâ non conscriberent.

Die 14.—Alias mihi sæculi iv. schedas misit, nonnihil, quæ mihi necessaria videbantur, additamenti augendas.

Die 17.—Duas a R. Chiswell bibliopolâ pro versione et præfatione Bullæ in Cœnâ Domini guineas accepi; ac schedas de Enthusiasmo Ecclesiæ Romanæ, quas licentiâ munitas a Mag^o Needham hesternâ nocte præsens receperam, illi imprimendas tradidi.

Die 29.—A Doctore Cave rogatus, Græcum Pseudo-Dorothei Tractatum a Cl. Dodwello ex Bibliothecâ Bodleianâ exscriptum Latinâ versione donavi. Istum Græco textui adjunctum post aliquot dies Cavus in Historiâ suâ Literariâ

imprimendum curavit, ne minimâ nominis mei mentione factâ, versionem sibimet ipsi ascribere ausus.

Aprilis die 7.—Ab R. Blome geographo regio oratus, opus quoddam Novi Testamenti historicum, quod ipse imprimi fecerat, castigavi, resectis nonnullis, quæ Papismum spectare videbantur. Ille enim utriusque Testamenti Historiam iconibus eximiis illustrandam meditatus, historiam ejus a Gallo quodam Religionis Pontificiæ conscriptam Anglicè vertendam curaverat, ut eam iconibus apponeret.

Die 12. A D° Archiepiscopo evocatus Lametham profectus sum, cum schedas nonnullas MSS. Clⁱ Usserii, imprimis verò Historiam dogmaticam S. Scripturæ publicè perlectæ, mihi in manus tradidit, utque illam exscriberem ac dein typis committerem, mandavit, meque duabus guineis, amicitiae suæ, ut dixit, tesserâ, donavit.

Die 16, ac septimanâ sequente, quicquid appendici meo ad Historiam Literariam defuit supplevi. Die 23, prælo commissa est.

Die 27.—Historia Inquisitionis Goæ typis impressa in lucem prodiit. Illam licentiâ muniri frustra sæpius apud Lametham tentaveram, adeoque supprimendam decreveram. Tandem M. Wrench mihi nomen bibliopolæ cujusdam honesti Knapton detulit, qui rem libentissimè susciperet; sique aliquid clanclulum in lucem exire

vellem, ut illius curæ committerem, petiit. Versionem itaque Inquisitionis Goanæ D° Wrench tradidi ab illo bibliopolæ committendam, eâ tamen lege ut nomen meum prorsus taceret; ut schedas omnes exscribendas curaret, antequam eas bibliopolæ aut typographo traderet; utque, proposito bibliopolæ rei subeundæ discrimine, rem totam illius arbitrio committeret. Factum est; ego schedas meas a D. Wrench paulo post inchoatam impressionem recepi.

Die 30.—Detectum est bibliopolæ, qui Historiam Inquisitionis Goanæ imprimendam curaverat, nomen. Ille, ut tempestatem capiti imminuentem evitaret, ad Doctorem Midgeley, cui præli moderandi provinciam rex commiserat, properavit, datâque illum mercede conduxit ut editionis seu evulgandæ seu iterandæ veniam daret. Fecit id Midgeleius, hâc impositâ bibliopolæ lege, ut libello præmitteret præfationem, quæ, collaudatâ regis clementiâ, nullum esse Inquisitionis denuò in Angliam a Pontificiis inferendâ metum prædicaret. Fecit bibliopola, me penitus inconsulto; omnia autem mihi indies enarravit D^{ns} Wrench, cui fortiter præcepi, ut modis omnibus caveret ne in præfatione novâ cudendâ mihi fieret injuria, aut interpretis nomen præponeretur. Ego enim ejusmodi præfationem nec condere nec approbare volui.

Die 1^o Maii. Schedas aliquot, quas ex codice

Usseriano descripseram, ad Archiepiscopum Cantuariensem, uti mihi in mandatis dederat, detuli, ut methodum a me initam pervideret. Visam ille approbavit, utque bonis avibus opus inceptum prosequerer, jussit.

Eodem die, Tractatus de Enthusiasmo Ecclesiæ Romanæ in lucem prodiit; mihi 14 guineas ex pacto numeravit Rich. Chiswell.

Die 17.—Appendicem Historiæ Literariæ supremam jam manum passam ad Doct^m Batteileium Lametham detuli. D^{nus} Wrench me Lametham comitatur, qui quinque guineas a Jacobo Knapton bibliopolâ mihi manè detulerat.

Die 19.—Ridleii Episcopi Tractatum, aliasque disputationes de Eucharistiâ recensui, et ex Poineti Diallactico* excerpta quædam selegi, eo fine, ut simul impressa in vulgus emitterentur. Id enim a me quinque abhinc mensibus postulârat Tenisonus, precesque sæpius renovârat.

Die 20.—Præfationem conscripsi.

Die 21.—Schedas Rich. Chiswell consignavi.

Die 31.—Archiepiscopum invisi, eo animo ut licentiam prædicandi per totam provinciam Cantuariensem obtinerem. Id me suasit Tenisonus, aliique ex amicis potiores. Eo enim res tandem devenerat, ut, diœcesium plurimarum curâ ad episcopos regi penitus addictos devo-

* Diallacticon, written by Dr. John Poynt, Bishop of Winchester, in the time of Edward VI.

lutâ, cordatioribus theologis prædicandi munus interdictum iri, ni Metropolitana. autoritas intercederet, verendum esset. Nullam antea ejusmodi facultatem concesserat Archiepiscopus; adeoque eam a me non petitam esse maluisset: petenti tamen, ob officium ecclesiæ a me præstitum, uti humanissimè prædicavit, non contemnendum, denegare noluit; adhibitâ tamen protestatione se talem licentiam nulli postmodum alii daturum esse. Discedentem rogavit Archiepiscopus ut in capellâ suâ Lamethanâ, ipso audiente, Dominicâ sequente (quæ Πεντηκοστή fuit) prædicandi munus auspicarer.

Die 3 Junii, coram Archiepiscopo loco dicto concionatus sum in illud Joann. xiv. 26, 27, *Ista vobis dixi, &c.* utque ab aliis postea intellexi, lautum satis provinciæ non infeliciter gestæ suffragium ab illo retuli.

Die 25.—Episcopum Assaphensem* invisi, a Tenisono monitus, ut illum de libro quodam Panormitani raro, qui penes ipsum fuit, consulerem. Incredibili planè favore me excepit Præsul eruditissimus, meique amicitiam adeò gratam sibi futuram esse contestatus est, ut longum satis iter lubenter susciperet, familiaritatis mecum ineundæ ergo. Post finitas salu-

* Dr. William Lloyd; afterwards made Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry; under which name he is mentioned by Mr. Wharton in the latter part of this diary.—See p. 150, &c.

tationes et de re literariâ colloquium, de rebus publicis verba fecimus. Is fausta omnia sperare jussit; adeo plebis enim animos injustitiâ et tyrannide exacerbasse Pontificios, ut omnes tumultu facto arreptisque armis illos ex Angliâ quam citissimè eliminaturi essent, regemque ipsum (quod factum nolumus) aut exilio aut nece mulctaturi. Utcunque verò fieri nullo modo posse, ut Papismus in Angliâ ultra annum regnaret. Miram rerum catastrophën adesse, cui, si ipse sociique Episcopi, præsentî Pontificiorum rabie erepti, superfuerint, omni modo curaturos, ut Ecclesia sordibus et corruptelis penitus exueretur, ut sectariis reformatis reditûs in Ecclesiæ sinum exoptati occasio ac ratio concederetur, si qui sobrii et pii essent: ut pertinacibus interim jugum levaretur, extinctis penitus legibus mulcatoriis; utque Cancellariorum, Officialium, et curiarum Ecclesiasticarum abusus funditus tollerentur. Fusè isthæc declaravit Episcopus, dum ab hospitio ejus ad Thamesis ripam in vehiculo uno devehere-mur; ille enim Lametham pergebat.

Die 29.—Archiepiscopus cæterique episcopi tribunali regio judicandi sistebantur.

Julii die 26.—Usserii specimen Historiæ Dogmaticæ totum exscripseram, adeoque operi fastidioso finem imposui."

Sept. die 10.—The Archbishop sends for him

in the evening and presents to him the Rectory of Sundridge in Kent, vacant by the death of Mr. Malden, who had married his Grace's niece, and at the same time made Mr. Wharton his chaplain.

Die 18.—Visits Mr. Boyle;—"illum studiis theologicis librisque omnifariis de Christianæ religionis veritate pervolvendis intentumprehendi."

Oct. 8.—Removes into the Archbishop's family.

23°.—Presented by the Archbishop to the vicarage of Minster, in the Isle of Thanet, vacant by the death of Dr. Castilian, Dean of Rochester, upon which he resigns Sundridge, which was given to Mr. Kidder.

The Archbishop the same day gives Mr. Wharton £20 towards furnishing his chamber.

Nov. 11.—Ordained Priest by the Archbishop; the only instance, perhaps, of an ordination by an Archbishop since the Reformation.

15°.—Inducted into the Vicarage of Minster, which he lets for £200, reserving to himself the vicarage-house.

Decembris 11.—*Abjectis regni insignibus, ipse Rex sese in fugam dedit. Periit cum eo Pontificiorum spes omnis. Faxit Deus ut malefactorum hominum istiusmodi ambitio atque impotentia nunquam Angliam iterum lacessat,*

ut tandem Ecclesiæ ab inimicorum insidiis liberatæ respirare et refluere liceat.

Die 16.—Rex urbem deductus est, ubi, cum more solito perditissimorum Pontificiorum e latebris ad adventum ejus erumpentium satellitum acciret, iisque solis aurem præberet, exclusis cordatioribus viris, Pontificiosque dimittere præfractè recusaret, Princeps Auriacus, proceresque regni, illi urbe cedendum esse denuntiârunt, et Belgarum turmâ stipatum Rôcestriam deduci curârunt die 18°.

1689. Jan. 6.—Usserii specimen historiæ controversiarum, quod olim, hortante Archiepiscopo, descripseram, illique in manus consignâram, ab illo repetii, ut opus inceptum concinnarem, disponerem, augerem, et prælo appararem. Huic provinciæ ad medium usque Martii mensis sedulò incubui, cum tandem feliciter absolvi.

Die 20.—Historia Literaria evulgata est. Pro appendice meâ recepi a Richardo Chiswell bibliopolâ triginta libras.

Febr. 13.—Gulielmus Princeps Auriacus et Maria uxor, Rex et Regina Angliæ ex solemnî Ordinum decreto proclamati sunt. Rem Archiepiscopus nequiquam probavit, atque adeo neque principes ab adventu suo inviserat, neque Ordinum Conventui aderat. Aderant eo die in capellâ nostrâ duo Reginæ capellani, qui Archie-

piscopum ab illâ missi convenerant, ut benedictionem ejus Majestati suæ impetrarent. Archiepiscopo salutato, in capellâ manebant, observaturi, annon pro rege et reginâ preces faceremus. Egomet solus e capellanis domi aderam. Cautè itaque agendum fuit, ne Archiepiscopo meâ culpâ malè cederet. Illum igitur accessi, de re dubiâ rogaturus. Rem ille meo arbitrio tacitè commisit; neque enim se mihi novum aliquid mandare velle dixit. Antea etiam preces pro libitu Capellani mutaverant sine ullâ ejus jussione aut reprehensione. Idem itaque mihimet licere arbitratus, cuique salus Archiepiscopi cara erat, et firmum regibus, quoscunque Deus nobis præponeret, parendi propositum, pro Rege Gulielmo et Reginâ Mariâ Deum in precibus publicis interpellavi. Noctu me accersivit Archiepiscopus, et vehementer excandescens, edixit ut aut reges novos in precibus nominare omitterem, aut a precibus in capellâ habendis cessarem. Hos enim, vivo Jacobo, reges esse non posse contendebat. Id animi illi indiderant episcopi Norvicensis, Ciceritensis et Eliensis, pessimo Ecclesiæ fato. Hinc enim Archiepiscopus, cui facile fuisset res omnes pro libitu statuere, omnem in republicâ auctoritatem usque adeo amisit, ut Ecclesia ipsius causâ deinceps maxime periclitari cæperit."

June 14.—H. Wharton took the oath of allegiance.

Augusti die 8.—“Cum apud Magistrum Fraser fuisset, ille mihi monstravit duos rarissimos libros, alterum de Vita Cardinalis Poli, alterum de disceptatione inter legatos Anglum et Gallum in Concilio Constant. de prioritare. Illos typis iterum mandandi me cupido incessit. Mandandos tradidit Fraserus. Eos itaque leviter emendatos, brevique admonitione sub typographi nomine præmunitos, Jacobo Adamson bibliopolæ imprimendos dedi.”

Sept. 6th.—Presented by the Archbishop to the rectory of Chartham, near Canterbury, vacant by the death of Dr. James Jeffreys, Canon of Canterbury, who died the 5th.

11.—Receives a dispensation for holding his two livings from the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Tillotson, who was appointed by the Chapter to exercise the metropolitical jurisdiction.

Oct. 5.—Inducted into Chartham.

Nov. 7.—“Prodiit Usserii historia de scripturis et sacris vernaculis, quam patroni jussu edendum curaveram, notisque et auctario locupletaveram. Eo nomine 33 libras a Richardo Chiswell bibliopolâ accepi.

Die 14.—D^{no} Josepho Edwardo salarium trium mensium in antecessum dedi. Illum enim Novisico accersiveram, ut codices MSS. mihi exscriberet. Consilium enim jamdudum inieram historicos aliquot ecclesiasticos ineditos in lucem donandi, nonnullos et ipse descripseram.

Jam, bibliopolâ rem aggresso, typographus opus inceperat."

1690. Feb. 1 —The Archbishop refusing to take the oaths, Mr. Wharton is disappointed of the preferments designed for him by that prelate, as the chancellorship of Exeter, and canonry of Canterbury, &c.

Oct. 13.—Agrees with Dr. Nixon, Canon of Canterbury, to exchange his rectory of Chart-ham with the Doctor's living of St. Michael, Queenhythe, if he could obtain a dispensation for holding with it his vicarage of Minster. "Rem illico aggressus sum, et dispensationem sine summâ difficultatē et invidiâ maximâ obtineri non posse sentiens, ab incepto destiti. Semel quidem Jo. Sharp Decan. Cantuar. pinguem suam Vicariam S. Ægidii cum utroque meo beneficio commutare pactus fuerat: verum, amicis et episcopis consultis, ipse vir maxime necessarius urbe excedere neutiquam est permissus.

In the middle of November, upon a false report of the death of Dr. Pindar, rector of Brasted, the Bishop of St. Asaph, with the concurrence of the Bishop of London, and at the desire of Archbishop Sancroft, obtains of the King the promise of that living for Mr. Wharton.

"Integrâ hyeme, operi de præsulibus Angliæ,

olim suscepto, absolvendo incubui. Parti primæ et secundæ manum supremam imposui medio mense Martio sequenti. Partem tertiam inchoavi; sed nimio labore fatigatus, eam in aliud tempus rejeci.

Patronus adhuc in ædibus Lambethanis morabatur. Frequens de successore substituendo facta est mentio, nil autem effectum est. Ipse illi constanter adhæsi; et inter alia, opus Dⁿⁱ Mauricii de episcopatu adversus Clarksonum Puritanum typis exprimi curavi, ab autore rogatus. Schedas perlegi, emendavi, auxi, prelo commisi, errata typographorum sedulo correxi."

While he was at Canterbury, towards the end of March and beginning of April, a canonry of that church falling vacant by the death of Dr. Pearce, he writes to the Bishop of St. Asaph to procure it for him, as Dr. Tenison likewise endeavoured to do without his knowledge. But in vain, the king and queen having half a year before promised it to Dr. Isham, the Bishop of London's chaplain.

"Eodem tempore, dum in Cantiâ adhuc moras traherem, bibliopola propositiones quosdam pro vendendo primo Angliæ Sacræ volumine, quod prælo jam pene exierat, emisit, et in iis editoris nomen præfixit, addito officii, quod apud Archiepiscopum Cantuar. gerebat, nomine. Id quidem fecit, me planè invito, et sæpius in-

hibente. Factum autem plurimis displicuit, qui eo animo factum esse credi voluerunt, ut Archiepiscopi titulus invitâ potestate regiâ defenderetur.

1691. Mart. 27.—A Doctore Aucher Subdecano rogatus, in Ecclesiâ Cathedrali Cant. concionatus sum. In oratione concioni præmissâ pro Archiepiscopo Cant. more consueto oravi. Id plurimi ægrè tulerunt; quidam etiam non infimi nominis, Archiepiscopi nomine audito, cætum statim reliquit; plures autem laudârunt. Mihi indecorum visum est Patroni titulum dimittere, antequam regia Majestas aliquid de ipso statuerit, aut successorem illi designârit. Quinimo in plurimis civitatis Londinensis ecclesiis id sæpius feceram, neque aliquis unquam antea id mihi vitio verterat.

Sponte mihi obtulit Episcopus Assavensis securaturum, ut regiæ Majestati a sacris ordinariis adsciscerer. Regina, cui res ejusmodi pro arbitrio *dispendas* (disponendas?) Rex commiserat, legem jamdiu statuerat, ut quicumque in capellanorum numerum adsciscendi essent, concionem prius coram se haberent, speciminis seu probationis gratiâ. Illam autem subire conditionem penitus recusavi. Regina itaque ab Episcopo rogata die 26 Aprilis conditionem mihi relaxavit, meque in capellanorum ordinem statim admitti jussit.

Id subodoratus Episcopus Sarisburiensis,* infensissimus patroni ejusque familiarium adversarius, reginam adiit, multisque calumniis me proscindens, ipsam a consilio revocavit. Summa accusationis huc rediit, me Majestati regiæ inimicum esse, de jure ipsius malè sentire; sæpe querulas, nonnunquam etiam seditiosas, voces emisisse; nuper autem pro Archiepiscopo exauthorato in concione publicâ Deum interpellâsse, ipsiusque nomen in propositionibus de primo Angliæ Sacræ volumine edendo posuisse. His calumniis regina, aliquantulum mota, Episcopo Assavensi dixit se inaudivisse me præjudicia mea nondum exuisse, adeoque se velle ut admissio mea differretur, donec sibi certiora constarent. Hoc audito, Episcopus Assavensis Episcopi Sarisburiensis calumnias detexit, reginamque, ne se mendaciis abduci pateretur, exoravit. Illa Episcopum clementer audivit, nil autem respondit. Assavenis Sarisburiensem rectâ petiit, et coram novo Archiepiscopo aliisque eximiis personis illi mendacium et calumniam exprobrat.

Hoc circitè tempore (Maio exeunte), junctâ cum Doctore Hooper† operâ, multa in defensionem pluralitatum beneficiorum ecclesiasti-

* Dr. Burnet.

† The celebrated Dr. G. Hooper, afterwards successively Bishop of St. Asaph, and of Bath and Wells.

corum compilavi. Compilandi enim munus mihi datum est, componendi Hooper, qui opus susceptum vix inchoaverat quando Decanus Cantuarensis inopinatò creatus est.

Episcopum Sarisburiensem jamdiu pudere cæperat calumniæ mihi intentatæ. Misso itaque ad me sæpius Richardo Chiswell, omnia amicitiae atque benevolentiae officia spondit, modò ipsum inviserem. Renui aliquantisper. Demum autem die 1° Junii ipsum in hospitio suo invisens, incredibili honore ab illo sum receptus. Alia mitto; se promotionem meam pro virili curaturum non rogatus promisit, et post biduum, in Episcopi Assavensis hospitio obviam mihi factus, affirmavit se suspicionem omnem de me conceptam de Reginæ animo exemisse, meritaque mea apud illam ita deprædicasse, ut ipsa dignitatem aliquam eximiam mihi brevi conferendam esse spem faceret.

Die 4° Junii, prodiit Angliæ Sacra pars prima.

Die 17° Junii, aulam regiam adii. Episcopus Assavensis mihi die hesterno dixerat Reginam mihi maximè favere, atque etiam velle, ut ad manus ipsius osculandum accederem. Nolui tamen id obsequii clementissimæ Principi præstare, dum patronus aulæ invisus apud Lametham moraretur, ne huic parùm gratus seu fidus viderer. Episcopum itaque Assavensem rogavi, ut me hâc in re apud Reginam excusaret, quod et dextrè effecit. Regina enim Episcopo con-

firmavit se Episcopi Sarum palinodiam accepisse, atque excusationem meam benignè accipere: jussitque ut, quam primum patronus Lambethâ excederet, memet ipsi præsentem sisterem.

Die 23.—Patronus Lambetham nocte serâ reliquit, capellani penitus inscii.

Die 26.—Horâ nonâ matutinâ aulam regiam adii, et ad Reginam adductus a D^r Stanley Sacarii Regii Clerico, manus ipsius deosculatus sum, vultu benignissimo ab illâ exceptus.

Die 8 Julii.—Mane Episcopum Wigorniensem* adii, ut ante discessum (cum D^r Hoopero ad Cantuariam) illum salutarem. Hic mihi renunciavit se ante paucos dies Reginam maximis precibus interpellâsse, ut præmia non indigna mihi quam citissimè conferret. Regina favorem erga me suum verbis abundè contestata est; utque præmia mihi non deessent, se curaturam spondit. Interim autem id tam citò effici non posse dixit. Hic etiam taceri non debet, Episcopum Sarisburiensem in cameram regiam intrâsse, statim post deosculatas a me manus regias die 26 Junii, et mihi tunc asseverâsse, se tum Reginam, tum Archiepiscopum Cant. pro favore et præmiis mihi exhibendis interpellâsse, suamque amicitiam et favorem mihi nunquam defuturum.

Die 7. Julii, . . . (calamo obducta sunt quæ-

* Dr. Peter Mew.

dam verba,) Hooper, virginem longè formosissimam (apud —stedium) invisī. Illa suum mihi amorem haud obscurè insinuavit. Quum autem dote careret, ego verba ipsius intelligere nolui. Tunc etiam mihi narravit virginem quandam lectissimam, mihi benè notam mihi fœdere conjugali sociari perquam cuperè. Hanc etiam rejeci, quòd dos ipsius satis ampla non esset.

Die 1 Sept.—Ad Decani Cantuarensis ædes in villà de Eastwoodhay, in agro Huntoniensi positas, iter feci, et apud ipsum integris tribus septimanis moratus sum. Partem hujus temporis aliquantam clericis et generosis circumvicinis impendi; maximam autem scribendæ pluralitatum apologiæ. Id enim munus olim a se susceptum Decanus implere jam detrectavit, et in me rejecit. Scriptam a me Apologiam Decanus revisit, multisque in locis communi consilio emendari fecit.

Die 25.—Apologiam Roberto Clavel bibliopolæ imprimendam consignavi, acceptis ab eo decem libris, et perpetui silentii fide.

Die 2 Octobris.—Episcopum Wigorniensem invisī. Is me summo semper amore prosecutus, nunc etiam amicitiam et favorem suum mihi plenissimè contestatus est. De clandestinis Episcopi Sarum adversus me insidiis et accusationibus nondum cessantibus, certiozem me fecit, et sive ab illo seu ab aliis delatam fuisse

nuper ad Archiepiscopum calumniam de querelis et diceriis in ipsum et alios emissis. Consuluit itaque ut Archiepiscopum adirem. Quod maximè autem optandum erat, retulit mihi Episcopum Londinensem nocte hesternâ ipsum invisisse, et narrasse quo modo regina eo die, motu proprio, multa de me interrogaverit, viz. ubi loci agerem; quid jam molirer; quosnam honores ecclesiasticos obtinerem; ac dein subjunxerit, parùm adhuc decorum esse, ut Archiepiscopi deprivati capellanum inter capellanos suos cooptaret: se autem curaturam, ut nec ipsius favor, nec laboris præmia, deessent. Post prandium, Archiepiscopum adii; et in interius cubiculum ab ipso receptus, privatum cum illo colloquium per integras duas horas habui. Licentiam residendi apud Cantuariam petii, et facilè obtinui. De rumoribus iniquis ad ipsum delatis expostulavi, et nullam ab ipso fidem fuisse adhibitam, responsum accepi. Multis mihi denique favorem suum et amicitiam promisit, et concione suâ coram Reginâ nuper habitâ donavit.

Sub initium mensis Novembris, evulgata est *Pluralitatum Apologia* a me conscripta."

30 Nov.—Seized with a cholera morbus, of which he had like to have died at Dr. Batteley's at Canterbury.

1692, die 29 Aprilis.—" Lambetham perveni,

et in ædibus Doctoris Hooper diebus 15 moratus, Bedæ Commentaria in Genesin et Canticum Abacuch ex codicibus MSS. Lambethanis a me olim descripta, revisi; Aldhelmi Librum de Laude Virginitatis ex codice MS. Bibliothecæ Lambethanæ antiquissimo emendavi; atque ista omnia, unà cum opusculis Bedæ historicis a Wardo olim editis imprimenda Roberto Clavel, bibliopolæ Londinensi, consignavi.

Sub initium hujus mensis, pars secunda Angliæ Sacræ evulgata fuit. Nunc itaque cum Richardo Chiswell bibliopolâ rationes seu calculos subduxi; et pro utrâque parte ab illo ducentas (paulo plus) libras accepi."

13th April.—Accompanies the Dean of Canterbury, Hooper, to Exeter.

Die 15.—" Sarisburiam appulimus, eâdemque nocte Episcopum Sarisburiensem invisimus. Episcopus ille multis nominibus mihi male voluit, præcipuè autem, quod de conscriptâ Pluralitatum Apologiâ me suspectum habuit. Paucis itaque, antequam Londino discesserim, diebus, ad Richardum Chiswell scribens, ei præcepit, ut me de authore istius libri interrogaret. Chiswello respondi, me Episcopum Sarisburiensem quantocius domi suæ visurum; atque tunc commodam Episcopo, si interrogaret, responsionem daturum. Examen itaque expectavi. Episcopus autem multa quidem

contra corruptam Ecclesiæ disciplinam, et Cleri mores et avaritiam declamavit; quæstionem tamen mihi directè non proposuit; nonnulla de residentiâ pluralistarum debitâ a me tanquam optimè sciente sciscitari contentus. Ego verò rem a me neutiquam fuisse consideratam prætendi.

Die Lunæ (13 Junii). Decanus familiam secum trahens Londinum pergit, me apud Sarisburiam relicto. Me enim impulit animus Ecclesiæ Cathedralis et Consistorii Episcopalis monumenta et registra pervolvere. Commodum enim accidit, Episcopum tunc abesse, qui mihi apud Exoniam moranti paulò ante per Rich. Chiswell denunciaverat, me ecclesiæ suæ registra ipsius favore nunquam visurum; quinimò se omnimodæ amicitiae renuntiare, quandoquidem Apologiam Pluralitatum verbis conceptis abnegare nollem.

Die 17 Junii, Londinum redii, pristinumque in Decani Cant. ædibus hospitium resumpsi.

Die 21.—In ejusdem comitatu Cantuariam redii, et apud veterem amicum Doctorem Batteley hospitium accepi.

Dum hic morarer, utrumque beneficium in triennium iterum elocavi, reservato mihi annuo reditu £333."

Die 13 Julii.—Preaches before the Queen at Whitehall, on the Fast-day.



Die 18 Julii, delirus amavi.

25.—Goes into Norfolk.

Die 14 Sept.—“ Londinum paulo post adventum, opuscula Bedæ, &c. sunt evulgata, pro quibus a bibliopolâ 10 libras accepi.

Die 22 Sept.—Cantuariam redii.

Die 3 Octobris.—Historiam Reformationis Anglicanæ a Burneto scriptam evolvere cæpi, eo animo, ut defectus et errores ejus notare, ac demum evulgarem. Quod facere statui, tum ut nimiam ejus, quâ in damnum Ecclesiæ abusus est, famam convellerem; tum ut Historiæ nostræ Ecclesiasticæ errores receptos posteris indicarem; tum ut animo meo multis ab eo injuriis irritato nonnihil indulgerem.

Die 13 Octobris, observationes meas scripto consignare incepti.

Die 12 Novembris, opus inceptum feliciter absolvi, et Johanni Conold (qui liberos Antonii Aucheri Baronetti literis instruebat) describendum tradidi.

Eo circitè tempore, sæpius febricitari cæpi, sæpe etiam noctes insomnes ducere.

Die 10 Decembris.—Lambetham perveni, et apud Decanum hospitatus sum.

Die 13.—Urbem ingressus, librum Thomæ Bennet bibliopolæ juveni imprimendum dedi, sub ficto Antonii Harmer nomine, silentium stipulatus.

1693.—Die 6 Februarii, Censura seu castigatio historiæ Burneti prælo educta, publici juris facta est. Quamvis autem nomen alienum præ se ferret, omnes apud Londinum statim clamabant me authorem esse. Burnetus Episcopus confestim furere, debacchari, usque ad rabiem irasci. Amici ejus authorem condemnare vel parvi pendere opus præ se ferre. Alii e contra authorem et opus miris in cælum laudibus extollere, partemque secundam votis ardentibus optare. Burnetus se responsionem editurum statim in se suscepit; idque patri meo forte obvius mihi renunciari præcepit. Mox tamen ab incepto destitit, et familiari meo M. Roberto Canon confiteri non erubuit, se de diluendis adversarii sui objectionibus prorsus desperare, neque id aggressurum, quamvis parte secundâ, quam tantopere flagitare præ se tulit, editâ provocaretur. Ne nihil tamen faceret, me apud Reginam ausi temerarii et Reformationis causæ injurii accusavit; editâque in lucem sub initium mensis sequentis epistolâ ad Episcopum Lichfeldensem prolixâ, semet excusare, adversarium lacescere, utcunque conatus est.

20 Martii.—Patri matrique valedicens, patronum clementissimum apud Fresingfeldam inveni, maximis favoris indiciis exceptus. Ille etenim opus a me nuper nomine ficto editum impensè commendavit; chartas et instrumenta

plurima (quæ mihi in hoc aliisque operibus inservire possent) tradidit, abeuntique promissit, se chartas omnes suas mihi demùm legaturum esse.

Die 26.—Episcopum Lichfeldensem invisi. Ille multa mecum de censurâ Burneti nuper editâ locutus tandem dixit, Id sane affirmare non dubito, te (si modo author ejus fueris) non injustè fecisse. Sic enim te usus est Episcopus Sarum, ut idque multoque plus a te pati meruerit.


Sæpius hâc æstate (anni 1693) a viro industrio, Johanne Strype, rogatus fueram, ut historiam ejus de Cranmero Archiepiscopo, quæ prælo jam emittenda erat, perlegerem, et observationibus ac castigationibus nonnullis adornarem. Libro itaque mecum accepto, id sub hujusce (Octobris) mensis finem ac sequentis initium perfeci. Observationes meæ postea typis excusæ ad historiæ calcem prodierunt, quo nomine tres guineas a Ricardo Chiswell bibliopolâ accepi.”

29 October.—Visits Archbishop Sancroft, then dying, who puts into his hands the papers relating to the history of Archbishop Laud.

21 November.—Visits the Archbishop again. “Me ad lectum suum accitum multis piissimis admonitionibus ac benedictionibus, verbisque verè amantissimis, dimisit; utque post obitum

suum reversus chartas reliquas (mihi utiles) excuterem, inventas interim auferrem, jussit. Noluit enim me extremis ejus seu exequiis adesse; ista enim a presbytero quodam, qui juramentum Wilhelmo ac Mariæ regibus non præstiterat, curari voluit. Mæstus admodum recessi, ac nocte sequenti animam sanctissimam Archiepiscopus cælo reddidit. Quamprimum justa defuncto persoluta fuissent, nepotes ejus, supremi testamenti executores, per literas interpellavi, de excutiendo patroni chartaphylacio, et accipiendis, quæ mihi destinaverat, chartis. Illi verò, rei totius ignorantiam prætexentes, id primum cōcedere noluerunt; postea tamen, me vehementius expostulante, in id saltem consenserunt, ut omnes chartas atque instrumenta editioni historiæ Laudianæ necessaria, atque alia quædam pauca, acciperem. Quapropter, die 30 et 31 Januarii, Fresingfeldam profectus reliquas patroni chartas (immensam sane congeriem) pervolvi, multasque mihi utiles mecum abstuli.

Mensibus Decembri et Januario, perlegendæ historiæ Laudianæ, emendandæ, notisque ac observationibus augendæ, chartis ac monumentis necessariis instruendæ, his ordine digerendis, integro denique operi ad prælum adornando, incubui, quantum valetudinis infelicis cura permisit.



1694, die 3 Martii.—*Historiam Laudianam Chiswello in manus tradidi, ejus curâ atque sumptibus typis nitidis imprimendam.*"

10 April.—Settles in his house at Chartham.

25 June.—Goes to Bath.

27 August.—Returns to London from Bath, a little better in health.

In October and November, spits blood.

"*Studia interim, fractâ penitus valetudine, parum procedere poterant. Sumptis tamen in manus historiis, quas ante triennium scripseram, de Episcopis Londinensibus et Assavensibus eas revisi, et additionibus præclaris auxi. Nonnihil etiam in adornandâ novâ atque ampliore Historiæ de Cælibatu Cleri meæ editione præstiti.*

Mense Novembri, educta jam prælo *Historia** R. R. P. Willelmi Laud, Archiepiscopi Cant. et Martyris de persecutionibus suis, quam mense Martio superiore prælo commiseram, publici juris facta est. Eo nomine 88 circiter (quas stipulatus fueram) libras a Ricardo Chiswell bibliopolâ recepi.

Die 9 Novembris, tricesimum ætatis annum complevi. Plures mihi annos Deus pro clemen-

* Mr. Wharton lived only to publish the first volume. The second volume was edited in the year 1700 by his father, the Reverend Edmund Wharton, to whom he consigned his papers.

tiâ suâ indulgeat, pristinâque corporis sanitate restitutâ concedat ut in sui suæque Ecclesiæ honorem atque utilitatem vitam diutinam protraham.

Eodem die, Serenissimus Rex noster Wilhelmus, ex Hollandiâ mare transnavigans, apud Margate in Insulâ Thaneto appulit et Cantuariam adveniens in ædibus Decanilibus pernoctavit. Vesperi itaque, Canonicos Cantuarienses comitatus, regias deosculatus sum manus.

Here the MS. diary concludes. A note at the end, in Dr. Birch's hand-writing, says, "Mr. Wharton died 5th March, 1694."

The details, which this narrative of Mr. Wharton's life have exhibited, of his unparalleled industry, talents, and acquirements, prove how great a loss was sustained by the literary world in his early death. No one can know so much respecting him, as has been given in the foregoing diary, without being desirous of knowing more: and on this account the following delineation of his character, with an account of his illness and death, and of the respect paid to his memory, proceeding from the pen of a contemporary,* must be perused with interest:—

* See the life of Mr. Wharton, prefixed to his *Sermons*.

“ For these his performances in the cause of religion and learning, as he was admirably fitted by the excellency of his natural endowments, a quick apprehension, solid judgment, and most faithful memory ; so were these raised to a great perfection by his industry : an industry never sufficiently to be commended, though in this (alas !) to be lamented, that it too much hastened his death and our loss.

“ Nor were his moral accomplishments inferior to his natural and acquired perfections. He was modest, sober, and pious ; in all things showing himself to be acted by a truly Christian and religious spirit. Of which those two instances, to name no more, may not unfitly be given. The one, that he never undertook any matter of moment, without first imploring the divine assistance and blessing thereupon. The other, that in all those journeys which his learned designs engaged him in, he was ever wont so to order his affairs, as not once to omit being present at the monthly Sacrament wherever he came. And then, of his zeal for religion, and the honour of God, those excellent discourses which he has published in defence of the best and purest part of the Christian church now extant upon the face of the earth, in opposition to the corruptions of Popery, (those scandals to Christian religion, so highly dishonourable to God, and so injurious to the

blessed Author of it, and an offence to all that truly love and fear him) will always be a constant and standing evidence.

“ It has not been thought convenient to add any instances of his charity, though many might be given ; because this is agreeable to his own desire, which always was to be as private therein, as possibly he could. This one only may (it is presumed) not improperly be mentioned ; viz. That by his Will, whereof he appointed his father, the Reverend Mr. Edmund Wharton, the Reverend and learned Dr. Thorp, one of the worthy Prebendaries of Canterbury, and his dear friend, Mr. Charles Batteley, the executors, he has ordered the greatest part of that small estate which he left, to be disposed of to a religious use in the parish of Worsted in Norfolk, where he was born.

“ As to his person, he was of a middle stature, of a brown complexion, and of a grave and comely countenance. His constitution was vigorous and healthful : in confidence of the strength of which, he was too little regardful of himself, and too intent upon his studies ; inso-much, that he did often deny himself the refreshments of nature, because of them ; and sometimes, in the coldest weather, would sit so long at them, and without a fire, as to have his hands and feet so chilled, as not to be able to feel the use of them in a considerable time.

His too eager prosecution of these, together with a weakness contracted in his stomach, by the too violent operation of an unhappy medicine which he had taken, so far broke the excellency of his constitution, that no art nor skill of the most experienced physicians could repair it. The summer before he died, he went to Bath, in hopes to have retrieved his decaying nature by the help of those excellent medicinal waters. Some benefit he found by them; but at his return from thence to Canterbury, falling again to his studies immoderately, and beyond what his strength could bear, he quite undid all they had done. So that, after a long and lingering decay of nature, he was brought at length to the utmost extremity of weakness; under which languishing for some time, at last in the thirty-first year of his age, on the 5th of March, (that sad day, whereon that never sufficiently to be lamented princess, our most incomparable queen, was interred,) about three o'clock in the morning, he with an humble patience submitted to the stroke of death, cheerfully resigning his departing soul into the most holy hands of his gracious Redeemer.

“ The loss of so extraordinary a person in the flower of his age, and one from whom the learned world had justly conceived such great expectations of most admirable performances from his indefatigable labours for the advantage

of it, was very much lamented by learned men, both at home and abroad.* The clergy, in particular, as a testimony of that value which they had for him, did, in great numbers, attend at his funeral. Here ought by no means to be past by in silence that singular honour which was paid to him by the Right Reverend the Bishops; many of whom, and among the rest, the most Reverend the Archbishop himself, and the Right Reverend Bishop of Litchfield, who had both of them visited him in his last sickness, being present at it; while another of that venerable order, the Right Reverend the Bishop of Rochester, performed the funeral office.

“ All sorts of persons were willing to show their respect for him in the best manner they were able. The Reverend the Dean and Prebendaries of Westminster not only caused the king’s scholars to attend him to his grave, (an uncommon respect, and the highest they can show on such an occasion,) but did also each

* The following notice of him appears in the *Acta Eruditorum*. Lips. anno 1696. p. 425. *Idem omnium, quæ sunt in Angliâ, Ecclesiarum Cathedralium Historiam moliebatur; verum, quod non modò Anglis, ad quorum antiquitates eruendas natus et factus videbatur, sed omnibus bonas literas amantibus dolendum est, immatura morte præventus, quam trigessimò ætatis anno subiit, specimen tantum magni illius, quod animo conceperat, operis reliquit.*

for himself remit their customary dues for interment in their church, as the last and most proper testimony they could well give of the high esteem in which they held Mr. Wharton and his learned labours: the choir likewise committing his body to rest with solemn and devout anthems, composed by that most ingenious artist, Mr. Henry Purcell.

He lies buried in the south side of the cathedral church of Westminster, towards the West end; near whereunto, in the wall, is erected a small but decent monument of white marble, whereon is the following inscription:

H. S. C.

HENRICUS WHARTON, A. M.

ECCLESIAE ANGLICANÆ PRESBYTER,

RECTOR ECCLESIAE DE CHARTHAM,

NECNON VICARIUS ECCLESIAE DE MINSTER

IN INSULA THANATO, IN DIOECESI CANTUARIENSI,

REVERENDISSIMO AC SANCTISSIMO PRÆSULI

W I L H E L M O

ARCHIEPISCOPO CANTUARIENSI

A SACRIS DOMESTICIS :

QUI MULTA AD AUGENDAM ET ILLUSTRANDAM

REM LITTERARIAM,

MULTA PRO ECCLESIA CHRISTI

CONSCRIPSIT,

PLURA MOLIEBATUR.

OBIIIT 3^o NON. MART. A. D. MDCXCIV.

ÆTATIS SUÆ XXXI.

Dr. Ducarel* gives the following description of Mr. Wharton. "He was a man of great natural endowments, a quick apprehension, solid judgment, and faithful memory. As to person, he was of middle stature, brown complexion, grave and comely countenance. His constitution was vigorous; but immoderate application weakened his stomach, so that medicine could not restore his health."

Perhaps no person ever exceeded him in the indefatigable ardour of his literary pursuits, and in the rapidity with which he brought his talents into action. He frequently, as appears from the foregoing diary, completed in a few days, works which would have occupied any other person for at least as many weeks.

Amongst his other laborious works, was the account which he drew up of the MSS. in Lambeth library, in which the writer of his life says, that he has, beside giving a most exact catalogue, transcribed, under every book, all the unpublished treatises contained in it, and has collated with great exactness those which were published.† The Rev. H. Todd, in

* See history of Lambeth Palace, p. 66.

† This catalogue of the Lambeth MSS. by Mr. Wharton was purchased amongst other of his MS. remains by Archbishop Tenison, and is now preserved in the Lambeth library. Dr. Ducarel states that it had been in the library of "the late John Loveday, Esq. of Caversham."

the preface to his catalogue of the Lambeth MSS. gives a more exact account of this matter from a particular examination of the work itself; viz. that Mr. Wharton transcribed such unpublished treatises as were subservient to his projected publications, and collated what had been already printed. The catalogue prepared by Mr. Wharton, Mr. Todd adds, exhibits all the patience of minute investigation, as well as the merit of valuable selection. Mr. Wharton himself gives the following account of his labours in this work, in an unpublished letter, in the Lambeth library, to the Rev. Dr. Barker, chaplain to Archbishop Tillotson, (post mark January 1—probably, says Dr. Birch, 169 $\frac{1}{2}$.) It appears that he had lent the work to Dr. Barker; and his letter proceeds thus :

——— “ I desire you to use very great care in sending it back ; for if it should miscarry, the loss would be to me irreparable, since neither myself could again, nor any other, perhaps, ever would, undertake such a tedious labour, as to read over all the unprinted, and compare the printed MSS. of that library, transcribing thence whatever was worthy of notice. Indeed, the labour was so vast, that I fear you will condemn me of misspending my time; but considering that myself was both able and willing to undergo the greatest drudgery of that kind,

and that, if I did not do it, perhaps ability, occasion and inclination to do it would never be joined in one person; that a fire might destroy those books, or a civil war scatter them, or (which is all one) they might hereafter be condemned to remain in their dust; I at last undertook the work, and finished it in that collection now in your hands, in which I dare confidently pronounce to be contained all passages of the unprinted MSS. which may be of use, either in controversy, philology or history, and all those printed treatises entire which are worth the preserving.* After I had done it, my old lord was very desirous to have a volume published in such a method as Lambecius has described the library at Vienna, subjoining to every book those treatises, passages, or excerpts taken out of them, which may tend to public benefit. This my lord was eagerly bent upon, and would have caused me to do, had himself continued at Lambeth, and I in his service. But, since that, my circumstances are so much altered, that all designs of that nature are frustrated, and all my zeal for public service must be employed in teaching a few plough-job-

* He means the portion of the MSS. then in the library, called Codices Lambethani and the Bullæ Papales. The collection has been greatly enlarged since by Archbishop Gibson, the present Archbishop, and other benefactors.

bers, who look upon what I say to concern them but little. Perhaps thirty years hence, if life and friends continue so long, when I shall become old and lazy, and covetous and selfish, I may be removed to a station, enabling me to do that service to the public, which then I neither shall be able nor perhaps willing to do."

It has already appeared* that Mr. Wharton gave the whole credit of the successful pursuit of his studies to his distinguished patron Archbishop Sancroft, who incited him to diligent perseverance in them by every species of encouragement. Others have formed the same judgment. "We owe," says Willis, in his account of mitred Abbies, "Mr. Wharton and all that he did, to Archbishop Sancroft. This I ought thankfully to remember, because, without the perusal of the published books and MSS. of that very extraordinary man, whose unprecedented industry will be for ever admired by all who impartially consider his uncommon performances beyond what was achieved by any one of his years, it would have been impossible for me to have drawn up this account of monasteries and conventual churches."

It has been seen from the preceding extracts

* See p. 72.

from Mr. Wharton's narrative of his own life, that much disagreement took place between Dr. Cave and him, during the progress of the *Historia Literaria*. As Mr. Wharton's account of this matter has been given, it seems but equitable to suffer Dr. Cave to tell his own story, by inserting the following letter addressed by him some years afterwards to Archbishop Tenison, complaining bitterly of Mr. Wharton's behaviour, in unduly arrogating to himself the credit of having composed a great part of that work. The real state of the case seems to have been, that Mr. Wharton, a young man of uncommon natural powers, indefatigable industry, and ardent spirit of research, availed himself, with great rapidity, of the materials and references, which the extensive reading of Dr. Cave supplied for carrying on the *Historia Literaria*: and, feeling conscious of his powers and of the assistance which he really contributed, he forgot that the foundation of the whole was furnished by the erudition of Dr. Cave, and arrogated more to himself than he really ought. Dr. Cave too seems to have irritated the young scholar by some moroseness and harshness of temper, by undervaluing the assistance which he afforded, and by showing towards him some feelings of jealousy to which a person of his high eminence ought to have been superior.

Dr. Cave's Letter to Archbishop Tenison,
respecting H. Wharton.*

Dated October, 1697.

MY LORD,

I should not presume to give your Grace this trouble, but that lately I met with an accident that gave me some disturbance. At Mr. Geary's I chanced to see Mr. Wharton's book of the *Historia Literaria*, wherein I found several notes blotted out, and two or three added since I saw the book last, which was about a year before he died. The notes that are added are highly injurious to me, and afford one of the most unaccountable instances of unfair and disingenuous dealing that perhaps ever passed amongst men of letters. I hope therefore that your Grace will not be offended, if, in as few words as the thing is capable of, I set things in their true light.

P. 282. there is this note:—*Ab hoc loco omnia nigro plumbo non notata ejusdem sunt autoris (sc. H. W.) cujus illa quæ hucusque notata sunt: et vicissim quæ lineâ decussatâ notantur, junctâ utriusque nostrum operâ sunt conscripta.* This note, if taken in its latitude,

* See Lambeth MSS. v. 930, 14.

as it is obvious to understand it, is so extravagantly untrue, that he might with equal justice challenge the entire work, as in effect he has done the greatest part. Mr. Wharton was with me but seven or eight months (and those winter months) after I resumed what I had long thrown aside; a time much too short for a book of that bigness, if he had claimed the whole. The four first sæcula I had drawn up, and still have by me under the hand of my then amanuensis, some years before Mr. Wharton ever saw an University; to which I added several things afterwards, mostly extracted out of the English lives, which I had published long before I ever heard of Mr. Wharton's name; nay, there are some passages, and those pretty large, hooked by Mr. Wharton within the compass of his note, which I particularly remember I drew up several months after he left me, having then got some books which I had not before. And for all the rest (more than in the sense wherein things are acknowledged in this paper) I am as sure they were of my own doing as I am of my right hand.

“ The whole foundation of any pretence at all was no more than this. Mr. Wharton lived with me as an amanuensis; at that time I resumed my design of the *Historia Literaria*. Besides his writing as I dictated to him, I em-

ployed him to transcribe several things, particular the titles of the Fathers' works, as they stood before their several editions, adding myself what short notes I thought fit to any of them ; and sometimes, though not very often, where the opinion of an author concerning an ecclesiastical writer was large, I set him to draw it into a few lines, but still under my own discretion and alteration. This, for instance, was the case of Origen's works, and of what he pleasantly calls, p. 81, *Dissertationem de Origenis operibus proprio Marte compositam*, which was no more than thus :—I set him to collect the writings of Origen, mentioned in Huetius's *Origeniana* (adding what I thought fit to them) as also the heads of his dogmata, as they stand in the several sections of Huet's book ; and which, accordingly, p. 82. I have acknowledged to have been extracted thence. In Cyprian, I set him to take out his works as they are placed according to order of time in the Oxford edition, and to reduce the titles of the last Paris edition to them. In St. Augustin, I sent him to look over three, or four volumes (which were all could then be had) of the new Benedictine edition, and observe what alterations they had made from former editions ; and they are mentioned up and down in the account of St. Augustin's works. In St. Chrysostom,

I employed him to transcribe the titles of his works as they stand before the several volumes of Sir H. Savil, and to reduce those of Fr. Ducæus to them, which accordingly are set down column-wise, p. 255, &c. In reading to me out of Bishop Usher's *Bibliotheca Theologica* concerning Chrysostom (and the like concerning some others), I ordered him to copy out several passages, which you have in the bishop's own words from p. 270, and so on. In Theodorit, I directed him to collect his works, as they are reckoned up in Garnerius's *Dissertatio de Vitâ et Libris Theodoriti*, which I refer to, p. 319. Thus I sent him to your Grace's library at St. Martin's, to collate the new edition of Zonaras with the former, and he brought me an account of what was in the new; as also to the library at Lambeth, to run over three or four volumes of Lambecius. His extracts I have still by me, some whereof, but in my own words and way, I made use of.

These are the chief, and most (if not all) that he did; and this he did as my amanuensis, as maintained, employed, and directed by me; and are no more than what (if I had kept no amanuensis) I could easily have had done by the hand of any friend. And shall this be thought sufficient to ground a claim to any part of an author's book? It would be a woeful case with

writers who are forced to make use of amanuenses, if the transcribing a few passages for the author's use, or the making a short abridgement of a passage or two, shall be foundation enough to set up a title for co-partnership in the work. I hope after so many volumes of church antiquity published by me long before I saw Mr. Wharton's face, the world will not have so mean an opinion of me, as to think either that I needed to be beholden to a young man of twenty-one years, and who, by his own confession, had never looked into the Fathers till he came to me ; or that I was so lazy as to sit still, and employ another to do my work ; a thing as far from my temper, as light from darkness, and from which all that know my course of studying will sufficiently acquit me. I might add, that there is so plain a difference between his style and mine, (whether for good or bad it matters not,) that it would not be hard for any that would attend to it, to make a near guess which is which ; though indeed in the progress of the work, he was ever and anon offering to thrust in his own words and phrases, so that I was forced very often to reprimand him, and sometimes positively to overrule him ; whereof I then, once and again, complained to several friends, some whereof are still alive to justify it. This I then thought was only the

effect of the heat and forwardness of his temper, and perhaps it was no more; though, comparing it with what has happened since, it looked oddly. What Mr. Wharton did towards the real benefit of the work, *proprio Marte* as he speaks, viz. transcribing Greek fragments out of MSS., translating them, and the like, is readily acknowledged in their places up and down the book, and more particularly in the *prolegomena*, sect. iii. p. 7. in expressions more comprehensive than what he did, really deserved. My Lord, I am ashamed to mention these things, but that necessity enforces it.

P. 743. *ad ann. 1280*, there is this note, *Omnia dehinc ad finem usque a me scripta sunt, a Cavo postmodum concinnata*. I believe nobody that reads this note but would make this construction: that, from thence to the end of that *sæculum*, and the beginning of the Appendix, was written by Mr. Wharton, and afterwards only licked over and revised by me. This obliges me to let your Grace into the knowledge how Mr. Wharton came to be concerned in the Appendix. When I was come to the year 1280, I fell sick at Windsor, and not knowing whether I might recover, and being unwilling that so much pains as I had taken should be wholly lost, I delivered my papers to Mr. Wharton, and what materials I had pre-

pared for the two following sæcula, and desired him out of them and the chartophylax to draw up some kind of continuation agreeable to the rest, adding to it what he could meet with in my books. This I did as a pro tempore provision in case of the worst, designing, if I recovered, to finish it afterwards. Accordingly, he parted from me and went to my house at Islington, where he was maintained for three months at my charge, and his salary duly paid him. At my return he showed me what he had done, without taking any further notice. Six months after, when the book was in the press, and about twenty sheets printed, he came to me, and in a peremptory manner demanded that the latter part of the book might be published in his name. I was much surprised, and represented to him the unreasonableness of such a demand, that what was done, was done in my service, by my direction, at my cost, and upon my bottom, and that I had thoughts of taking it in pieces, and doing it over again, with some other considerations which I have now forgot. However, because I did not much stand upon it, so the book might be useful to the ends designed, who had the credit of this or that part of it, and he being a young man, if it might be a means to let him into public notice, (upon which account he

seemed to insist upon it,) I was content he should have the two last sæcula, by way of Appendix. Whereto he afterwards added several things, making use of the scattered notes I had prepared, and what was before in the chartophylax, without taking any notice whose they were, nor did I much expect it, or desire he should. And because there were two or three sheets from ann. 1280, to the end of that sæculum, which he said he had done, I cut out those leaves, and for any thing I know they may be among his papers at this hour, and did it entirely over again, wherein there was not one word of Mr. Wharton's made use of, more than what will necessarily fall in, where two persons make use of the same books in prosecution of the same design. I further told him (for now I began to perceive his humour and what he aimed at) that, to the end there might be no farther dispute about this matter hereafter, if there was any other part of the book to which he could make out a claim, I would strike it out, and do it over again; and that I all along designed to own in the preface what real help he had contributed, showing him that part of the prolegomena, wherein I had done it. With which he was satisfied, and never after spake of it to me, or, that I know of, to any one

else, though he lived more than seven years after.

Thus, my Lord, I have truly and sincerely laid the whole case before you, and I thought myself obliged to do it, in order to the doing myself right. For I should have been unpardonably wanting to myself, had I suffered myself to be undeservedly transmitted to posterity, as one that had published another man's labours under my own name ; a thing from which I was ever most averse, and have commonly erred on the other hand. I know not into whose hands Mr. Wharton's book may hereafter fall, or what use may be made of those notes ; if therefore your Grace shall think fit to let those two or three notes stand as they are, I humbly beg the favour and the justice that this paper may be fastened into Mr. Wharton's book, that so impartial persons may be rightly informed in the state of things. I want not an opportunity at this time of publicly doing myself right. But, since the notes are kept private under your Grace's custody, I did not think fit to make my defence any more public than by this address to your Grace. If, when I am dead, any use shall be made of these notes to my prejudice, I hope this paper will in some measure plead for me, or that some friend will stand up to do me

right; however, that there (is) a time coming when God will bring forth my righteousness as the light, and my integrity as noon-day. Mr. Wharton was one, for whose worth I ever had a just value, and, if I have exceeded in any thing, it has been upon all occasions in over-high commendations of him. But he was subject to one weakness (which all his friends that intimately knew him could not but take notice of,) viz. a vanity of magnifying his own performances, and an overweening conceit of himself, joined with an insatiable thirst after fame, which it is like his reduced age might have corrected, as I once told one of your Grace's predecessors, who was his great patron, when he was pleased to ask my opinion of him. With pardon humbly begged for the trouble of this tedious account,

I am,

My Lord,

Your Grace's in all dutiful observance,

WM. CAVE.

The copy of the *Historia Literaria*, to which Dr. Cave here alludes, which formerly belonged to Mr. Wharton, and contains his manuscript notes, is still preserved in the MS. library at Lambeth.

APPENDIX, No. II.

FUR PRÆDESTINATUS:

SIVE

DIALOGISMUS

INTER QUENDAM ORDINIS PRÆDICANTIUM

CALVINISTAM ET FUREM

AD LAQUEUM DAMNATUM HABITUS.

IN QUO

Ad vivam repræsentatur non tantum quomodo Calvinistarum Dogmata ex seipsis ansam præbent scelera et impietates quasvis patrandi, sed insuper quomodo eadem maximè impediunt quo minus peccator ad vitæ emendationem et resipiscentiam reduci possit.

Quid nobis prodest Christus ejusve Spiritus, verbūque prædicatum, à Deo contrarium si sit prædestinatum?

Christus si suo prodesse debet Spiritu, verbūque nos reformare, necesse est Deum contrarium non prædestinare.

LONDINI,

IMPENSIS F. G. TYPIS G. D. ANNO DOM. 1651.

LECTORI.

CHRISTIANE LECTOR!

Dialogus iste quem in publicum nunc emittimus, nauseam fortè movebit, mirúsve et insolens videri poterit Dogmata hujusmodi audire minùs assuefactis. Enimvero à Fure quæ defenduntur et sustinentur partes, non ita quenquam interpretari fas est, ac si ex Sacris Scripturis perversi adeò promi quid posse arbitraremur: Absit! Quicquid tandem profertur, consonum est, imò ipsissima verba sunt eorum Doctorum, qui apud Calvinistas pro præstantissimis, et ὀρθοδοξοτάτοις habentur: Quæ quidem placita abominanda asseveramus; talia nempe quæ Evangelicam pietatem funditus evertunt, amplissimámque viam omnis generis flagitiis et sceleribus sternunt, pandunt et aperiunt.

Multi minùs perspicacis ingenii homines non advertunt quàm perniciosa et absurda sit de præcisâ et rigidâ Prædestinatione opinio; quod ipsum in caussâ fuit cur Dialogus hic prodeat in lucem, ut exinde cuique luce meridianâ cla-

riùs constet, æquè ac Stygem infernalem fugienda esse tam ipse Dogmata, quàm Doctores qui ea profitentur, tenent, evulgant. Si Inscriptio primâ fronte videatur peregrina et duriuscula, ne ea propter offendare, Lector, exploratum quippe tenetur, complures Dogmatum istorum libidine abreptos, non furtis duntaxat, prædis et rapinis, sed latrociniis insuper, aliisque detestandis facinoribus se mancipâsse, adeò ut, si votis res conficeretur, optaremus ne experientia jam nunc plùs satis, prò dolor! exemplorum suppeditâsset: Quibus consideratis, apparet titulum argumento, de quo hic agitur, optimè quadrare.

VALE.

NOMINA DOCTORUM

APUD QUOS PRÆCISA PRÆDESTINATIONIS DOG-
MATA VIGENT, QUIQUE IN TRACTATU
HOC ADDUCUNTUR.

A.

RUARDUS Acronius, dum viveret, Concionator Schie-
damensis.

B.

Theodorus Beza, Doctor Genevensis.
Georgius Bucanus, Bernatum Lausannæ Professor.
Martinus Bucerus, Professor Cantabrigiensis.
Joannes Bogardus, dum viveret, Concionator Harle-
mensis.
Ioannes Becius, Concionator Dordrectanus.
Bern. Buschop, Concionator Ultrajectinus.

C.

Joa. Calvinus, Doctor Genevensis.
Colloquium Hagiense, in quo Contra-Remonstrantium
Collocutores fuere sex sequentes:
Pet. Plancius, Concionator Amsterodamensis.
Ioa. Bogardus, Concionator Harlemensis.
Libertus Fraxinus, Concionator Brilensis.

Ruardus Acronius, Concionator Schiedamensis.

Festus Homnius, Concionator Leydensis.

Ioa. Becius, Concionator Dordrectanus.

D.

Dunganus, Concionator Arnhemensis.

**Reyneirus Donteclock, dum viveret, Concionator Delphi.
et Brilensis.**

Dordracena Synodus.

Damman, Concionator Zutphanensis.

F & H.

Libertus Fraxinus, dum viveret, Concionator Brilensis.

Festus Homnius, Concionator Leydensis.

G.

Cornelius Geselius, dum viveret, Concionator Edamus.

D. Franc. Gomarus, Professor Groningensis.

M.

Marloratus, Concionator Rothomagensis.

Musculus.

P. Martyr, Professor Oxoniensis et Tigurinus.

N.

Nicasius de Schure, Concionator Gandavensis.

Pet. Nieuwenrode, Concionator Roterodamensis.

P.

G. Perkins, Doctor Anglicanus.

Amandus Polanus, Professor Basileensis.

Paræus, Professor Heidelbergensis.

Joannes Piscator, Nassoviæ in Comitatu Herbornæ Professor.

R.

Rennecherus, Heb. Ling. apud Leidenses Professor et Concionator.

S.

H. Sturmius, Professor Leidensis.

Adrianus Smoutius, antehac Concionator Rhenanus.

Rippertus Sixti, Concionator Hornanus.

T.

Iac. Triglandius, Concionator Amsterodamensis.

Anth. Thysius, Professor Harderwicensis.

Dan. Tossanus, Professor et Concionator Heidelbergensis.

U.

Ioh. Urbanus, Concionator Hattemensis.

Z.

Zuinglius, Tiguri in Helvetiâ Professor et Concionator.

H. Zauchius, Neopoli Nemetum Professor.

DIALOGUS

INTER

CONCIONATOREM CALVINISTAM

ET

FUREM AD FURCAM DAMNATUM

HABITUS.



Conc. BONAM vesperam, Adolescens; quomodo vitæ tuæ habent rationes?

Fur. Prout Deo Omnipotenti, qui cuncta secundum arbitrium voluntatis suæ operatur, ab æterno de me placuit decernere, et in tempore efficere.

Conc. Rectè ais; sed hoc ægrè me habet, te verò omnium ægerrimè, quòd impactus es compedibus, nec aliud nisi mors detestabilis tibi exspectanda.

Fur. Sanè est certissimum; ignoro tamen an deceat vel me vel te tantopere tristari, cum nec mihi nec tibi certò constet, utrùm ab æterno, per immutabile aliquod Decretum, à Deo prædestinatus sum ad vitam æternam, an verò ad pœnas infernales.

Conc. Eâ de re paulò post: interea quia stat sententia in crastinum ut pendeas, ego verò accersitus huc venio ut tibi præstò sim, an cum latrone in Paradisum transferri queas, fac ut sciam quænam peccata perpetraveris, quò tantò commodiùs meam ad te exhortationem, ex usu tuo, et ad animæ tuæ salutem instituam.

Fur. Lubentissimè; dummodo tu vacuas et audientes ad omnia ea aures accommodaveris.

Parentes mei ab ineunte ætate curârunt me enutrirî literis, tandem in Academiam mittere animum inducentes. Quid factum? Leidensis Academia hæresium plena erat; Franequeræ verò studiosi Baccho litabant, digladiabantur, et ferocissimorum instar militum ad duella continuò et concertationes mutuas sese provocabant. Nostræ tamen Ecclesiæ Præco erat autor, ut Franequeram mitterer; extra dubium quippe expedit potiùs Bacchi sacrificulum et Martis alumnum evadere, quàm hæreticum, cùm hic animam perdat et trucidet, ille duntaxat corpus. Post hæc, Benedicite acceptâ, adibam Franequeram, ubi cervisia adeò erat laudabilis, vinum pretii tam vilis, sodalitiûmque ita amœnum, ut omnes nummos convivando insumerem. Simul ac parentes mei resciverant Musas meas in Bacchi voluminibus versandis et evolvendis tantopere occupari, domum me revocantes, in Galliam ablegabant, ubi

parcè vivitur, et vitio ebrietas vertitur: Verùm Parisiorum adibam Lutetiam, quò omnium nationum est confluxus: Ibi generosissima quæque vina nihili ferè vendunt, strenuè potando rem meam credebam facere, perpetuò Bacchi thyrsò egregiè delinitus, à puellarum gremiis nunquam avulsus. Tandem ita enormiter vivebam ut parentes id audientes Cacubii literas Genevam dirigerent, mihi que ut eo loci viverem, mandarent. Enimvero Ecclesiastes noster parentibus imposuerat, quòd urbs esset sancta, in quà ebrietati, comessionibus, choreis ducendis, scortationi, nec ullis mundanis illecebris locus concederetur. Inde credula parentum simplicitas penitus sibi persuasum habebat, me istic non secùs ac Samuelem quempiam cum Eli in Domini templo assiduè commoraturum. Absque exceptione Genevam abeundum erat, sumptibus alioquin cariturus. Eò venienti mihi hospitium obtingebat hospitem habens cum venere formà certantem, et ancillam satis facilem, sed tantam præ se ambas pietatem ferentes, ac si ipsa fuissent sanctimonia. Templum quotidie adeuntes, nescio quoties in anno Sacro-sanctam Cœnam participantes. In tantam pietatem nequam oculos meos primitus non sustinebam intendere.—Sed uti tempus omnia alit, ita morà intercedente tandem optatis meis cuncta respondebant. Ante omnia, ut apud

verbi Præcones et Consistorium favorem mihi acquirerem, nullam omnino Concionem negligebam, subinde cum grandi Bibliorum volumine templum ingrediens, locum non nisi infra suggestum capescebam, singula Scripturæ dicta à Concionatore allegata inquirebam, unde summam mihi existimationem conciliabam. Interea Satrapam referre satagens, lateri gladium alligabam, servulo sequente, et concubinæ vices pariter obeunte incedebam, qui caligis exutis puellam se potiùs quàm masculum probabat. Quandoque tali stipatus sodalitio cymbâ lacum transfretabam, et cum Glycerio in montem, in vallem viridem, in gramina expatiabar; non vinum, non chartæ lusoriæ, non alea, avésque suaviter modulantes cum variorum animalium amœnitate tædium prohibente deerant. Quotidie fidium sonus egregiè cerebrum mulcebat; sed ne in plateâ animadverteretur, pectine fidibus inserto sonus reddebatur submissus: diebus serenis, lychno accenso, fenestris vestes prætendebamus, calceis exutis in pavimento aulæis cortinisque strato choreas ducebamus.

Conc. At verò si innotuisset quid de te actum esset? nam in sanctâ urbe Genèveâ piaculare facinus est saltare.

Fur. Utinam hîc non severius quid in me statueretur. Semel cùm res palàm fieret, mihi meoque sodalitio imponebatur nos sistere Episcopo. Præter aquam et panem arbitrabar nihil

nobis suppeditatum iri; verùm reliqui sensûs nostri fratres et sororculæ splendidè incedentes indies nos visebant; genialiter edebatur convivebatúrque; in ædium contiguarum superiori contignatione saltabatur ad trabium usque commotionem, idque quamdiu detineremur. Quamprimum pœnitentiæ esset terminus, in Consistorium deducebamur, ubi facti turpitudinem multis verbis nobis exprobrabant: post illa convoluti proníque super genua et cubitos ante suggestum in plenam Concionem cogebamur irrepere, apud Deum Ecclesiámque scandali dati veniam rogare. Sed non ampliùs habetur dedecus, exemplorum multitudine probrum pridem absorbente, dum in majorem illorum partem qui primipili urbis sunt, imò in ipsos Consules et Concionatores pariter animadversum fuit. Attamen tempestivè prævidens apud Batavos rumorem eum, si percrebresceret, pessimi nominis futurum, arbitrabar meâ interesse, ut famæ consulerem, altiùsque ad animum, quid de me fieret, revocarem, antequam in Bataviâ emanaret. Proinde in Consistorio comparens imò de pectore trahere simulabam

Cordicremos gemitus et singultantia verba,

et tantùm rheuma non eructabam. Advenam me aiebam, quem Patrum decreta et populi genius

lateret; seductum me exclamabam; fando me ipsum exquirebam, quomodo in tantum scelus præcipitatus essem, cujus mores sancti adeò et illibati exstitissent; quomodo dexterrimè tam perversum consortium evitandum foret, percontabar. In templo tanquam canis ululabam, in modum anguillæ manus inflectebam; verbo, ita personam meam sustinebam, ut nemo non mei commiseratione tangeretur, méque idoneum vas judicaret. Post hæc Concionatorem seorsim adibam, vicem ipsi meam luctuosam enarrans, de rebus meis penitus conclamatum querebar, præ me ferens quòd jamjam abiturus essem, ovis instar palantis errabundus, qui ampliùs in parentum meorum conspectum prodire non auderem. Concionator hæc audiens, Davidis, Solomonis, Mariæ Magdalene aliorumque exemplo me solabatur, qui omnes enormiter peccârant. Breviter Concionatorem conquisitis dictis ita permovebam, ut scriptis ad patrem meum literis, ingenium meum, diligentiam et modestiam mirum in modum commendaret, parentésque exhortaretur, ne dubitarent quin sumptuum suorum desideratissimos fructus læti ex me percepturi essent. Literas istas illico reddendas diligentissimè curabam, additis aliis à me scriptis, quibus de Prædestinatione et Libero Arbitrio subtilissimè disputabam, voculis insuper Hebræis, Græcis, Latinis

et Gallicis eas interpolabam, urbis sanctimoniam extollebam, Pastorum eruditionem deprædicabam, parentibus meis gratias agens, quòd me in salutis semitas reduxissent. Nuntius iste parentes meos tanto recreabat gaudio, ut confestim portio mea quadraginta coronatis excresceret: Attamen omnia frustrá. Equus semel carceres transilierat, inde pudor omnis perierat, ita ut indies deterior evaderem, támque enormiter exorbitarem, ut à parentibus domum redire juberer.

Verùm Amstelrodamense metuens ergastulum, tam diu exspectabam donec fides mihi haberetur; postea me proripiens effugiebam, Romam petebam, ex pallio meo togam conficiens, ad modum eorum qui Religionis caussâ iter faciunt, pileo verò cannas adfigebam, eorum instar qui ad Sancti Jacobi reliquias proficiscuntur, quò tantò tutiùs diversoria omnia et Monasteria ingrederer, egrederérque. At vita hæc nimis sordescibat; denuo Attalicè incedere stabat sententia; si vel in malum abeundum foret. Tum demum in campis et sylvis prædonem agebam, in oppidis crumenicidam, et furem nocturnum qui ædes spoliât. Eo vitæ genere per Germaniam penetrabam in Hollandiam, ubi villicorum et civium bona et fortunas, quâ vi quâ dolo, multísque irruptionibus domesticis diripui. In eum modum sexennium

scortorum et nebulonum consortio lætus insumpsi, et jam apparet ac si omnis inde percepta voluptas tristi semi-horâ finienda siet.

Conc. Percipio te grandem admodum peccatorem esse, qui omnibus tuis sceleribus suspendium duplò, imò ignem infernalem sis promeritus; inde miror quòd cum risu ista profers, haud aliter ac si nullum gravamen animæ tuæ metuendum esset. Dicas ergo mihi, quònam vitâ excessurus te migraturum cogitas?

Fur. In cœlum æquè ac tu, qui me non es multò melior.

Conc. An ergo æquè bonum et honestum te arbitrare atque me?

Fur. Arbitror, et quidem ex propriâ tuâ confessione; *nam optima tua opera in seipsis putida sunt et putrida, fœtida, deformia, detestanda, imò meræ abominationes et peccata, et, tanquam immunda fœmina, semper putredine et maculis infecta, ita ut nullis operibus apud Deum acceptus sis et æstimatus, quandoquidem illa† aliud nihil nisi pœnas æternas merentur, et‡ contra omnia omnino præcepta Dei gravisimè peccâsti, neque ullum eorum observâsti,

* Calv. Comment. in Esa. c. 64. v. 7. Instit. l. 3. c. 12. dist. 9. 13, 14. Ibid. c. 14. dist. 9.

† Confessio Belg. Art. 24.

‡ Catech. Heidelb. quæst. 60.

imò, jam nunc ad omnem malitiam, ad Dei proximique odium pronus es.

In precationibus tuis ad calcem Psalterii impressis, confiteris, dignissime vir! dignitatem tuam non tantùm cæcam esse in intellectu, sed ineptam quoque ad ullum bonum; quòd à Deo defecerit; quòd propria desideria secuta fuerit; quòd quotidie gravissimè peccet, quandoquidem dignitas tua per originale peccatum adeò impura est, ut per id varia prava desideria adversùs Deum et proximum pugnantia in te habitent, ita ut Dei mandata sæpe absque intermissione transgrediaris. Breviter miser peccator es, conceptus et natus in omni pravitate et corruptione, ad prava omnia præceps, ad bonum quodvis inidoneus, ita ut indesinenter peccatrice vitâ tuâ iram Dei adversùs te excitaveris, et secundùm rectum judicium ejus æternam, (proh dolor!) in te condemnationem derivas. Eâ de re conscientia tua te accusat, *imò peccata tua adversùs te testantur, ita ut corruptionis tuæ sensu convictus sæpe ingemiscas, et à corpore tuo liberari desideres. Verborum utar compendio, à teneris inde frugi parùm fuisti; nam† in nativitate tuâ filius iræ, et hæres vindictæ divinæ exstitisti, communionem habebas cum

* Confes. Belg. Art. 7.

† Guil. Teeling. Dialog. de Statu Hom. Christ. pag. 8, 9.

damnatis Diabolis, dum in matris tuæ utero esses ; plenus eras omnis naturalis veneni, unde omnia prava opera emanant ; exteriùs nihil nisi peccare poteras, cùm infantilis quoque esses, si modò occasio tibi suppeteret. Nam natura tua ad peccandum ita prona erat, quemadmodum serpens naturaliter ad ictum fertur : et quemadmodum vipera aut serpens ab homine habentur odio non propter malitiam quam perpetrârunt, sed propter venenum quod in se continent ; pariter et tu à Deo haberes odio propter naturale venenum quod tecum conceptum et natum erat. Ista omnia et ejus generis multò plura ipse de te enuntias, et ista manu tuâ subscripsisti : Imò ut hæreticos, Pelagianos, Cornehertistas et Perfectistas eos accusas, qui hæc in hunc modum cum vestris profiteri abnuunt. Et quid tibi videtur ? Si Shimei quispiam destinatâ operâ maledictis et probris te incesseret ac convitiaretur, deteriùsne quid in te posset evomere ?

Conc. Honoris caussâ et magnificentiae superabundantis Dei gratiæ, lubens ex animo confiteor omnium istorum reum me esse : Imò Deus vult ut ipsius fideles et electi tanti peccatores sint, ne seipsos efferant, sed* humiles sint ; quæ humilitas in eo consistit, ut vacemus omni bono et justitiâ.

* Calv. Inst. l. 3. chap. 14. distinct. 9.

Fur. Pridem et hoc ego optimè exploratum habebam, Concionator, proinde arbitrabar si id in rei veritate dicendum mihi foret, quòd penitus nihil boni faciendum mihi esset; nam quòd longiùs à bono omni abessem, eò veriùs faterer, quòd omni bono et justitià vacuus essem.

Conc. Non; hoc ita accipi nolim: Deus vult nos peccatores esse, ne bonis nostris inniteremur operibus, sed ipsius duntaxat gratià, ne quæremus per opera nostra justificari.

Fur. Idem adhuc sentimus, et quia optimè nôram quàm mortiferum peccatum esset bonis operibus suis inniti, et per ea justificationem quærere; imò quantis technis Diabolus insidietur homini, quòd hæresibus eum irretiat, omnia bona opera evitavi, soli Dei innitens gratiæ.

Conc. Omnia invertens adversus et præpositus vis currum conscendere: Doctrinam nostram haud aliter interpretaris ac si vitæ tuæ perversæ causa exstitisset. Absit! Deus hoc intendit, ne homines quærant operibus justificari, verùm fide.

Fur. Quâ fide?

Conc. Prout Catechesis nostra Quæst. 60 docet; Credo solùm in Jesum Christum, quâ fide coram Deo justificor. De istis omnibus conscientia mea me accusat, quòd contra omnia præcepta Dei gravissimè peccavi, quòd nullum eorum observavi, et jam nunc ad malitiam om-

nem propendeo. Deus tamen absque ullis meis meritis, merâ ex gratâ, perfectam Christi satisfactionem, justitiam et sanctitatem mihi donat et imputat, æquè ac si nullum peccatum commissem aut habuissem; imò ac si obedientiam præstitissem quam Christus pro me præstitit, quatenus tale beneficium credenti corde mihi applico.

Fur. Reverà, Concionator, pura ac illibata hæc fides et mea semper fuit, ut magis magisque cognoscam Reformatæ Ecclesiæ doctrinæ perpetuæ me inhæsisse; prout perpetuæ quoque Deum meis fatigavi precibus, quæ in fide absque ullis bonis operibus persisterem. Proinde et hoc mihi semper fixum fuit animo, crebroque sermone usurpavi; *Præcipuam Christianorum artem esse et sapientiam, legem nullam nôsse, nulla bona opera, ne vel hilum operantis justificationis scire: †Nam Christianus nullis operibus vel lege indiget, postquam per fidem ab omnibus legibus liber est. ‡Fides sola nobis ad justificationem est necessaria, à rebus cunctis cæteris sumus liberi, nulla præterea vel mandata vel interdicta; §bona opera neminem bonum reddunt, nec prava pravum.

* Luth. in præfat. Epist. ad Gal.

† Id. in lib. de Libert. Christ.

‡ Id. in Ep. ad Gal. cap. 2.

§ Id. de Lib. Christianâ.

*Et quemadmodum infidelibus nullum bonum opus ad salutem et justitiam prodest; ita ex adverso nullum pravam opus quemquam pravam reddit vel damnat, sed sola incredulitas. †Nam ubi fides est, ibi nullum peccatum obesse potest.

Conc. Quid tum? Itane bona opera insuper habes? Docemus quidem fidem‡ in Christum justificare; sed nos quoque teneri Dei præcepta observare, prout scriptum est; Si vitam æternam vis ingredi, serva mandata.

Fur. Parciùs frater; §Nam tunc Christum abnegasti et fidem destruxisti, divinis mandatis vel legibus tribuens, quod soli Deo debetur. Proinde parùm abest quin inducar ut credam te aliquid de hæresibus participare, dum bonis operibus boni quid tribuis in nostrâ coram Deo justificatione. ||Confirmo tibi, Concionator, quia via angusta est, oportet te submittas, si transire vis. Nam operibus qui sunt onusti, quemadmodum viatores ad Sancti Jacobi reliquias cannis videmus circumdatos, ¶illuc transire non poterunt. Dum ergo accedis ingen-

* Luth. de Lib. Christianâ.

† Id. in Serm. Ita Deus dilexit mundum.

‡ Id. in Ep. ad Gal. c. 2.

§ Id. in resp. ad quæst. præced.

|| Id. in Serm. Ita Deus, &c.

¶ Paulò inferiùs.

tibus saccis bonorum operum plenus, illos aut deponere cogeris, aut transire non poteris.

- *Conc.* Fateor bona opera in justificatione nostrâ sive salute non spectari tanquam causam impulsivam; interim cavendum nobis à peccatis.

Fur. Omnino Domine; caveamus *nobis à peccatis, sed multò magis à lege et bonis operibus, tantùm attendentes ad divina promissa et finem. Bone Deus! quid miselli nos peccatores faceremus boni?† Cùm etiam sanctissimi quique, quamdiu in vitâ hâc morantur, exiguum adedò initium obedientiæ habeant, ut ex iis ne vel unum opus proficisci queat, quod non justam ignominiae pœnam mereatur?‡ Imò quod non æternâ potiùs condemnatione, quàm vitæ præmio sit dignum.§ Apagite ergo sanctuli operum sectatores cum bonis vestris operibus; mea premitte vestigia, qui solùm in gratiam et misericordiam Dei fidem ac salutem meam exstruo. Nam|| ita dives est Christianus, si modò baptisatus sit, ut sciens volens salutis jacturam facere nequeat per peccata quantacunque tandem sint, nisi fortè credere detrectet. Hæc

* Luth. Serm. in N. T.

† Catech. Heidelb. quæst. 114.

‡ Calv. Inst. lib. 3 chap. 14. dist. 9.

§ Calv. cont. Concil. Trid. Sess. 6. c. 11.

|| Luth. de Capt. Babyl. cap. de Bapt.

omnia ipsa Lutheri et Calvinii verba sunt: An verò hi non Reformati Doctores?

Conc. Etiam; tamen animadverto, amice, te tabulis istis confisum, liberè nimis et liberaliter atrocia quæque peccata commisisse; proinde de Dei voluntate, quâ sibi obediri vult, ut erudiaris est necesse.

Fur. Vera loqueris, Concionator: Nónne verò existimas eâ de re abundè me cogitâsse? Certè cogitavi, prudènsque partes meas diu multúmque mecum pensitavi: Nam* considerabam voluntatem Dei duplicem esse, occultam vel revelatam; †ita ut Deus multa velit, quæ nolle revelavit. Exemplo res patet. ‡Dominus Moysis manu Pharaoni promulgavit edictum, dicens, Mitte populum; cùm tamen occulta Dei voluntas et propositum fuerit ne populum demitteret. Nec hoc§ mirum videri debet: quippe Deus occulto Decreto ad peccata destinavit, quos vias rectas incedere jussit.

Conc. Quid ita? Peccandóne Dei voluntatem te arbitraris exsequi?

Fur. Si occultam|| Dei voluntatem attendis, quâ decrevit res omnes ad scopum suum per-

* Strum. de Prædest. Thes. 18. p. 117.

† Id. Thes. 15. p. 31.

‡ Perk. de lib. Dei gratiâ, pag. 45.

§ Calv. ad Calumn. Nebulonis, p. 858.

|| Sturm. de Prædest. Thes. 18. p. 17.

ducere, et verbum *exsequi* res eventui accommodas, impii Dei voluntatem faciunt: Sin revelatam voluntatem spectas, impii voluntatem Dei non faciunt.

Conc. Rectè ais; quocirca semper decebat te externæ Dei voluntati intentum fuisse, quia occulta Dei voluntas te latebat.

Fur. Sanè, Concionator, binæ istæ voluntates Dei in cerebro meo perpetuò moluerunt, sonántque veluti mola asinaria: Etenim videns,* Deum non semper velle id quod se velle revelat, et ipsius revelatam† voluntatem impropriè, occultam verò propriè voluntatem esse; præterea, Deum‡ per ineffabile consilium velle ut in alium finem res ipsæ fiant, quas fieri non vult, et ut perpetrentur prohibet, revelatæ voluntati non multùm fui intentus.

Conc. Quí tantas blasphemias eloqueris?

Fur. Ipsissimam veritatem eloquor; nam cùm occulta|| voluntas semper, soláque tantùm fiat, et in mundo nihil accadat, quod ipsum Deus nolit; imò cùm hæc occulta Dei voluntas rerum omnium sit necessitas, ita ut Deus ipse peccatum velit voluntate Beneplaciti; tutissimum arbitratus sum semper efficacem Dei vo-

* *Pisca. cont. Schafm.*

† *Dungan. Pacif. fol. 56.*

‡ *Calv. ad Calum. Neb. p. 861. ad art. 7.*

|| *Sturm. de Præd. Thes. 1. fol. 3.*

luntatem sequi, ne frustaneum laborem capesserem.

Conc. Manifestum* est Deum secundum occultum omnipotens Decrētum et Beneplacitum nolle fieri, quod hominibus in verbo revelato præcipit: Et omnes† res, uti apparet, à Deo et ipsius Decreto infallibiliter ac necessariò produci non eo inficias; imò expressè hanc doctrinam et sententiam meam esse profiteor: nihilominus decebat te à peccato majori sollicitudine tibi ipsi cavisse.

Fur. In sacris Scripturis legi, Concionator, à Christo vanam mentis sollicitudinem prohiberi; cujusmodi est, staturæ suæ cubitum addere, sive pilum album nigrumve efficere, et id genus alia: Perinde arbitrabar ego minùs sapienter me facturum, si Dei ipsius Decreto et efficaci voluntati refractarius contrà niti præsumerem. Enimvero ‡oportet mecum fateare, omnes omnium hominum operationes et humanas commotiones, internas et externas, tam malas quàm bonas, mentis, cordis et voluntatis, dirigi et moderamen accipere à vi et impulsu divinæ providentiæ, ut non possint quin eligant id quod Deus vult; ita ut in lapsu Adami cor à Deo hoc in negotio ad finem eum destinatum

* Rippert in Colloq. p. 250.

† Id. p. 252.

‡ Sturm. de Præd. Thes. p. 112.

fuerit. Atque hoc modo fit *ut homines nihil possint sive consulere, sive velle, nisi quod Deus ipsis inspirat aut indit, bonum malúmve fuerit; ita ut is actu quoque hominum manus moderetur, ut modò vinctas eas teneat, modò flectat horsum, retrorsum, quò illud, quod prædestinavit, efficiat. Quod non tantùm de bonorum sed et perpravorum genere accipiatur oportet. † Nam quantopere etiam homines, tanquam efferæ et indomitæ bestię omnes turpitudinum numeros expleant, exinde tamen emanat, quò occultis et secretis habenis ita reguntur, ut ne transversum digitum deflectere valeant, quin Dei opus potiùs efficiunt, quàm proprium. ‡ Etenim per instrumenta ita Deus operatur, ut non tantùm permittat quò id agant et faciant, sive ut eventum tantùm moderetur, verùm ut ipse quoque excitet, impellat, moveat, regat, (et quod palmarium) creet insuper, ut per illa, quod decrevit, efficiat. Atque hanc propter caussam proculdubio fit, quòd Deus § voluntatem et inclinationem ipsis quoque indit impiis, ut hâc ratione dici omnino possit, Deum || solitariam et genuinam cunctorum esse caussam, ¶ volens et efficiens ut impii in suis cupiditatibus

* Calv. de Prædest. p. 842, 843. § Beza ad Calum. Neb. 11.

† Calv. de locis præcipuis. || Smout. Concord. fol. 2.

‡ Beza adv. Castel. Aphor. 22. ¶ Triglan. Def. fol. 172.

vivant, et proinde* peccandi necessitas quoad Deum imponitur. Quocirca, Concionator, quod hlc de sollicitudine ac vigilantia dictitas ac garris stultum est, et tua evidens fuit imprudentia. Nam† impii occultâ Dei manu et vi sive potentia, tanquam laqueo latente, nescientes diriguntur ad scopum ipsis ignotum; haud aliter atque sagitta emissa punctum ferit in quod à sagittario emissa est, quantumvis illud non meditetur vel nôrit.

Conc. Id mihi tu dictitare et garrire videris, ac si Deum peccatorum tuorum autorem statuere non verecunderis.

Fur. Si‡ per autorem intelligis eum qui suadet, adigit, impellit, vel quocunque modo occasionem subministrat quidpiam faciendi, tutò sanè Deum autorem peccati nominare potes; verbi gratiâ; cùm§ Adam caussa peccati, et Deus caussa Adami, quare Deus non caussa sit peccati? Imò Deus|| prima est caussa peccati. Verùm cum grano salis hæc ita capias oportet. Idem¶ delictum, utpote adulterium vel homicidium, in quantum Deus

* Gesel. Probl. c. 14. fol. 62.

† Ren. in Cat. Aur. fol. 32.

‡ Pezel. tract : de Prædest.

§ Joh. Urba. in sua Tapeinophrosyna resol. p. 7.

|| Ruard. Acro. expos. in Catechis. quæst. 9.

¶ Zuingl. de Providen. cap. 6.

est autor, motor et impulsor operis ejus, nullum est scelus; sed in quantum opus est hominis scelus est et indignum facinus. *Etenim propter justas caussas, nobis tamen ignotas à Domino proficiscuntur scelera, quæ ab hominibus nequiter patrantur: †et Deus occultè ad peccata ea, quæ prohibet, homines adigit, ‡imò Deus omnia in omnibus operatur, etiam eas res quæ peccata sunt, et quodcunque operatur, irresistibiliter operatur: Exemplo res pateat: §Deus per efficax Decretum et providentiam latrones ad homicidia cogit; quemadmodum Rex subditos suos ad solvenda tributa: et quemadmodum equo insidens illum regit, cogit, adigit, impellit, ut eum in modum, et eò abeat, quò vult.

Conc. Anne ergo existimas sceleribus tuis te penitus non peccâsse?

Fur. Imò existimo; nempe contra externam Dei voluntatem; at contra internam ejus voluntatem, mentem, et providentiam nequaquam: Nam ||voluntas hæc divini Beneplaciti tum quoque perficitur, quando homo contra præcepta Dei peccat.

* Calv. de Prædest. fol. 844.

† Pisc. cont. Schafm. in præfat. pag. 3.

‡ Sturm. de Prædest. Thes. 15. et 16.

§ Triglan. Defen. f. 164.

|| Ridpert. in Colloquio.

Conc. Verùm tum non nôras ne vel cogitabas te internam et occultam Dei voluntatem peccatis tuis facere.

Fur. Anne hoc quidem tunc cogitare poteram, Concionator? poterámne in respectu ad divinam providentiam et regimen aliter cogitare, quàm tunc cogitabam? Nam si occulta Dei providentia et Decretum fuisset ut illud cogitâsem, non potuissem quin cogitâsem; sed quia interna ipsius providentia et Decretum non erat, secundùm doctrinam nostram, id cogitare non poteram. Imò simul ac motum vel irritamentum ad quicquam quod Deus lege suâ prohibuit in me persentiscerem, illico mentem meam ista subibat dubitatio, annon Dei interna et occulta voluntas esset, ut id perpetrarem; et annon me ad id adigeret impellerétque, quo per me efficeret, quod ab æterno inevitabili suo Decreto per me in actum stâtuisset deducere; animum ita inducens; Si resisto, *θεόμαχος* cum Lucifero perduellis Deum versùs videbor insurgere: atque sic quò impetus ferebatur ruebam, et nunc certo certiùs novi internam Dei voluntatem, Beneplacitum et Decretum fuisse, ut omnia quæcunque patravi, patrarem. Si enim absque ejus internâ voluntate fuisset, in æternum non accidisset. Dicam quid ampliùs: Si quandoque mecum calculos accuratiùs subducerem, summo flagrabam de-

siderio peccata acervare et peccata exaggerare, prospiciens gratissimum longè Deo me iis facturum. * Enimvero Deus magis delictis opus habet ad gloriam suam manifestandam, quandoquidem non misereri potest nisi miserorum, neque justè damnare nisi peccatores, tita ut absque hoc si fuerit pertingere non potest ad principalissimos fines, apud hos quidem ad manifestationem misericordiæ in salute; apud illos verò ad manifestationem justitiæ in interitu. † Quocirca oportebat hominem labi et gratiâ excidere, ut Deus caussam haberet et occasionem justitiam et misericordiam suam declarandi. Deinde § peccata faciunt tam ad reprobationem, quàm ad prædestinationem; qui enim reprobantur, per ea ad æternum exitium ducuntur; qui prædestinantur, Dei gloriam per peccata tantò magis illustrent, dum ex illis eripiuntur. Proinde videns Deo peccata accepta adeò existere, ego creatura ejus cogitabam, imò sæpius vocem hanc ingeminabam: Ecce, Domine, servus tuus ad peccandum semper paratus.

* Piscat. ubi suprâ Thes. 35. pag. 32.

† Id. Thes. 27. et Beza de Præd. cont. Castel. in ref. cal. secundæ.

‡ Smout. Concord. fol. 107.

§ Martyr in L. C. class. 3. c. 2. dist. 48.

Conc. Veruntamen, amice, penitúsne curis et sollicitudine solutus vixisti?

Fur. Imò bono semper eram animo, ita colligens: Si *sum electus, Spiritus Christi conversionem et fidem tali vi in me operabitur, quæ electis est irresistibilis: Nam renovatio est creatio, quæ non ab hominis arbitrio dependet, sed duntaxat à voluntate et potentiâ Dei. †Quemadmodum mortuus seipsum ex mortuis suscitare nequit; ita ex peccato nullo omnino pacto resurgere valeo quantumcunque tandem Dei verbum in me sonet nisi Spiritus et vita mihi restituantur. Quare consultissimum è re meâ fuerit, tam diu moram ferre, ‡donec Deus me inhabitet, et doctrinâ ac institutis suis cor meum moveat; nam ubi cogar ibi non potero quin sequar. Ex adverso ita concludebam: Si sum reprobis, § omnis cura mea et labor, quibus ad salutem opus habeo, omnisque diligentia, quam forté probavero, frustrâ erunt, plùs oberunt quàm proderunt: || Imò quantumvis omnia omnium Sanctorum opera præstitero, salvari non potero; adeò firmum et immutabile Dei stat propositum.

* Donteclock in Resp. ad ignoti scriptum litera L. 4. et M. 1.

† Martyr L. C. de lib. arbit. pag. 978.

‡ Bucer in Ep. ad Rom. 9.

§ Donteclock advers. Castel. p. 171.

|| Marl. in Joh. c. 15, v. 2.

Conc. Dei vocationem et invocationem observare debebas, cùm Deus verbo suo et Spiritu te vocaret.

Fur. Poteràmne me aliter gerere ac gerebam? *Nam qui verè per Evangelium, et internè per Spiritum Sanctum ex Dei proposito non vocatur, Dei vocationi obedire nequeunt, †nihil omnino credere possunt, nec se convertere. Et Deus ‡trahit credentes per omnipotentem operationem, cui nolunt, nec possunt, nec velle possunt resistere. §Coguntur, nec possunt, quin vocantem sequantur, quos Deus inhabitat, et quibus institutis suis cor movet. Simili rem illustrabo. || Quomodo nemo nativitatem suam impedire potest; neque resurrectionem ex mortuis impedire poterit; pariter nemo omnino operationem gratiæ Dei in Christo impedire potest, quando nos eâ regenerare, et ex spirituali morte suscitare vult. Ex his abundè perspicis, si à Deo hunc in modum efficaciter vocatus et tractus fuisset, aliter non potuissem agere, quàm sequi et morem gerere.

Conc. An ergo Deum vocantem te vel moventem nunquam audivisti?

Fur. Equidem audivi sæpius; sed optimè

* Gesel. in probat. fo. 38. † Id. fo. 39.

‡ Smout. in præf. Concord. f. 9.

§ Anthon. Thys. in doct. et ord. Reform. Ecclesiæ.

|| Contra-Remonst. in Colloq. Hag.

nôsti, quemadmodum Deo externa et interna est voluntas; ita quoque ipsi externam et internam vocationem esse. *At externa vocatio cum internâ si fuerit conjuncta, opus demum est sive effectus prædestinationis et ineffabile ejus signum. Atque hoc est quod Synodus Dordracena non ita pridem admodum præclare dixerit; †Quòd aliqui in tempore fide à Deo donantur, aliqui non donantur, id ab ipsius æterno Decreto provenit, secundum quod Decretum Electorum corda, quantumvis dura, gratiosè emollit, et ad credendum inflectit: non-electos autem justo judicio suæ malitiæ et duritiæ relinquit. Proinde frivole nimis et infrâ quàm decebat, effutire videris, Concionator, tantopere me increpans; quòd Dei vocationem et invitationem non admiserim; expiscans item ex me; Annon Deum vocantem et moventem audiverim. ‡Etenim quòd alii per Ministerium Evangelii vocati veniunt et convertuntur, id non est adscribendum homini tanquam seipsum per liberum arbitrium ab aliis pari vel sufficienti gratiâ ad fidem et conversionem instructis discernenti, (quod superba Pelagii hæresis statuit) sed Deo, qui, ut suos ab æterno in Christo eligit, ita eosdem in tempore efficaciter vocat,

* Paræus in Rom. cap. 9. dub. 11.

† Syn. Dord. cap. 1. art. 6.

‡ Id. cap. 3. et 4. art. 10.

fide et resipiscentiâ donat, et ex potestate tenebrarum erutos in Filii sui regnum transfert. Imo cùm *regenerationem et novam creationem Deus sine nobis in nobis operetur; ea autem virtute suâ nec creatione, nec mortuorum suscitatione minor aut inferior, adeò ut omnes illi, in quorum cordibus admirando hoc modo Deus operatur, certò, infallibiliter, et efficaciter regenerentur et actu credant: Cur me accusas quòd non fui conversus? Atque ut dicam quod res est, non video quo modo possibile sit, ut semper dubius adhuc et fluctuans electúsne sit an reprobus, vocationi æternæ se conformare queat, hoc insuper obice relicto, ut vocatio interna non concurrat.

Conc. An ergo ipse animo tuo concepisti te reprobum esse? Horrendum sané!

Fur. Concepi; nec sine caussâ: quia enim Deus †maximam hominum partem ex Beneplacito suo reprobavit, et ‡reprobi propter peccata non reprobantur; neque prævisa peccata in caussâ sunt cur aliquis reprobetur, ut necessario fateri oporteat, §mala opera et incredulitatem reprobationis non esse caussam, ita quidem ut Deus ex consilio et voluntate suâ

* Syn. Dord. cap. 3. et 4. art. 12.

† Smout. Concord. fol. 109.

‡ Triglan. Def. fol. 83.

§ Gesel. probat. fol. 216, 217. Calv. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 23. sect. 6.

ordinavit quò homines nascerentur qui à matris utero infallibiliter mórti sùnt traditi, ut illorum interitu nomen divinum glorificetur: Animo meo ista volutans, sæpenumero tacitus cogitavi; Optime Deus! anne me quoque cum maximâ hominum parte reprobâsti? facîle crediderim, quandoquidem in reprobatione adeò tibi placuisti, ut nomen tuum exinde glorificetur.

Conc. Verissimum hoc est: Quòd Deus *ab æterno, absque ullo peccati respectu, per purum absolutum suum Decretum, quod nemo intelligere potest, maximam generis humani partem rejecit, et ad interitum creavit, vel in Adami lapsu reliquit ex immutabili et inevitabili Decreto, quod secum ipse decrevit: Imò si quisquam dicat, quòd Deus †neminem odio habuerit, aut odisse decreverit, quâ homo est ab ipso conditus, sed tantùm in quantum peccator, ille Apostolo contradicit: Tu verò interim non debes illico animo concipere, te quoque reprobum esse.

Fur. Optimè dicis; verùm quomodo possibile est, ut homo cujus fides toties tantis oppugnatur tentationibus, multisque peccatis est deditus, facîle sibi imaginetur, se non reprobatum esse? verbi caussâ; Si nôrit secúmque

* Anthon. Thys. ad Summam Baronii, pag. 20.

† Id. pag. eâdem.

perpendat, inter *reprobatos occurrere non tantum annosos sed et infantes, ita ut †ex infantibus morientibus quidam servantur, quidam damnentur, antequam boni quid malive fecerint. Nam ‡executio divini Decreti de reprobando infantibus ita habet: Simul ac nati et mortui fuerint, jam in æternum damnati erunt, propter originalis et innati peccati reatum, qui ipsis inest; atque §propterea ex vitâ hâc plurimi infantes evocantur, Deusque innocentes infantes à matrum uberibus rapit, ac in æternam mortem præcipitat. Imò quod magis est; Deus non tantum cum Judæorum, Ethnicorum et Turcarum infantibus ita agit, verum || id quoque locum habet in baptizatis Christianorum sive credentium infantibus, ut quidam ex iis in infantiâ morientes damnentur. Proinde ¶an certò omnes infantes à credentibus parentibus prognati et in infantiâ morientes indubitatè servantur, eâ de re verbum Dei tacet. Ausim dicere quid amplius. Cum** infantibus qui in Christo moriuntur, antequam quiddam operari

* Perk. Cat. Aurcâ, pag. 393.

† Thys. in Expl. Doct. de Prædest. pag. 245.

‡ Perk. ubi supra.

§ Cal. ad Calumn. Nebulo. ad Art. 13 et 14.

|| Donteclock in pacif. lit. L.

¶ Anth. Thys. lib. antè citato, pag. 226 et 227.

** Rippert. in Colloq. pag. 802.

potuerunt, ita agitur; aut servari debent ex gratiâ, aut damnari naturâ debent, tanquam filii iræ, sicut et cæteri. Sanè, Concionator, rigidæ hæ rationes sunt pro eo, qui symbolam tenetur solvere; ea propter ignoro quid nomine hoc sentiam.

Conc. Audi, amice; *Si in potestate aut libertate hominis bovem aut ovem in suum mactare usum, vel leporem aut perdicem voluptatis caussâ venari et interficere; multò magis absque ullâ injustitiâ in voluntate et libertate Creatoris situm erat, creaturam suam rejicere, et ad gloriam suam deserere: Imò millies æquius est, ut omnes creaturæ in cœlo et in terrâ, æterno suo interitu gloriæ et majestati divinæ demonstrandæ serviant, quàm ut muscæ interemptio aut nex pulicis omnium hominum totius orbis terrarum dignitati demonstrandæ serviant. Atque hoc in Deo non est improbandum sed de-prædicandum; et electi non possunt quin Deo summas gratias agant, quòd impios reprobârit; quandoquidem illos ad salutem nostram reprobavit, et ad testificandum quanto amore erga nos flagret: Imò ipsi reprobati non habent quod de eo querantur, verùm potiùs quod gratias agant; nam si apti sunt ad interitum, Deus tamen illos non frustrâ aptavit, sed ad multos

* Paræus in Ep. ad Rom. cap. 2. quæst. 9.

præclarissimos fines, et præcipuè ad suam gloriam.

Fur. Atque hoc in caussâ fuit, *quòd sæpiùs cogitavi, nos reprobati tantò magis ut acquiescamus oportet: Nam quamvis si privatum et peculiare spectetur bonum, melius esset natum non fuisse quàm condemnari, tamen propter publicum et universale bonum in hoc mundo contrarium (nempe reprobati) est melius, ut peculiare serviat universali, et creatura cedat honori Creatoris. Quocirca quantumvis mediâ in ætate nares mei frigore fermè essent concreti, olfacere tamen poteram futurum esse, nos à Deo ad Tartara deturbatos, luentes agere coactum iri gratias, quòd nos creaturas suas servitio tam sancto fuerit dignatus. Enimvero dignitas† præcipuæ Dei gloriæ, et electorum commodum adeò est ingens, ut electi per interiorem ejus pensitationem, Spiritu Sancto acti optârint proprio interitu et damnatione (si possibile fuisset) reprobatorum ex Judæis salutem redimere. Sæpenumero mentem meam hæc subibat cogitatio; Nos reprobos ô terque quaterque felices!

Conc. Omne ingenii acumen operâmque in hoc de reprobatione argumento videris impen-

* Gomar. Disp. de Prædest. p. 105, 106.

† Ibid.

disse; præstabat te verbo duntaxat et prædicationi, quâ te vocabat, morem gessisse.

Fur. Non diffiteor; verùm quamdiu reprobatio ista cerebro meo impressa erat, monitus *sæpe animum ita inducebam: Reprobi in æternum Deo, etiamsi ipse vocaret, obedire non queunt, nec credere, nec se convertere, nec justificari, nec salvari possunt; †et ideo non convertuntur, quia Deus non vult eos converti: Imò Deus ‡quibusdam reprobatis in Ecclesiâ congregatis gratiam suam offert in verbo, sæpe quoque per Sacramenta, non eum in finem ut per ea salventur, sed ut ex adverso minorem reliquis excusationem habeant, et in fine graviùs puniantur.

Conc. Omnia hæc ipsissima sunt veritas. §Nam quos Deos ad vitæ ignominiam et mortis interitum vocavit, ut instrumenta iræ suæ essent, et exempla rigoris sui, eos, ut ad finem suum perveniant, privat facultate verbi sui audiendi; postea magis eos excæcat et intricat verbi ejusdem prædicatione. ||Sæpius quoque in reprobatis fides deprehenditur, quæ magnam cognitionem

* Musc. L. C. de Elect. c. 10.

† Trigl. Def. fo. 156. Calv. in Ezek. 18. 23.

‡ Anth. Thys. in Doct. et Ord. Ecclesiæ Reform. p. 21. f. 216, 217.

§ Calv. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 24. Dist. 12.

|| Id. lib. 3. cap. 2. Dis. 11.

et affinitatem habet cum fide electorum; et experientia docet, illos sæpe cum electis pari fermè motu et sensu duci, ita ut sæpenumero se electos arbitrentur. Quandóque *accidit ut quidam gratiæ ipsius auxilio attollantur, ut donum cœleste gustent, semen Dei accipiant: imo Ecclesiæ inserti videantur; ita ut aliis salutis viam monstrent, ipsique non aliter nôrint et arbitrentur, quàm se electos esse: Infelices tamen hi homines in altum scandunt ut lapsu graviori ruant, et ut Deus graviori illos afficiat supplicio.

Fur. Id quidem et ego probè nôram, atque propterea omnes exhortationes, omnes conciones, omnes verbi lectiones fugiebam, adeóque omnia bona opera evitabam, ne magis excæcarer, intricarer, et graviùs damnarer. Imò expressis verbis asserebam; †æquè ac Dei propositum et sincera mens non est, eos qui in vitâ suâ non vocantur, ad salutem hanc deducere; pariter ipsius mens et propositum non fuit, reprobos qui vocantur salvare, quoniam ipsi non placet iis fidem et resipiscentiam donare, sine quibus salvari nequeunt. Deus ‡ab omnibus cultum et obedientiam exigit, verùm non omnibus hominibus in corrupto hoc statu potentiam obe-

* Bez. in brevi explic. capt. 7. Aphor. 6 et 7.

† Donteclock adv. Pacif. lit. L. 1.

‡ Trigland. Apol. fol. 135.

diendi dare decrevit; ab omnibus quibus verbum prædicatur fidem exigit, verùm omnibus fidem donare non vult.

Conc. Reprobationem hanc menti tuæ altè infixam semper habuisse mihi videris.

Fur. Non usque adeò altè infixam habui, Concionator, quandòque duntaxat hujusmodi mihi cogitationes occurrère; ut plurimùm id firmum meo stetit animo, me verè electum esse, de quo nec jam nunc ullus dubito.

Conc. Ne audacter pronuntiare præsumas, tibi que ipsi temerè confidas, te electum esse, postquam à teneris profligatorum adeò perditorumque morum fuisti, nec ad hunc usque diem vitam in melius mutasti, ita non multos electionis tuæ fructus edideris.

Fur. O bone vir! necesse est ut scias, *eos qui electi sunt non statim à matris utero, neque omnes uno tempore vocari. Imò antequam ad supremum Pastorem congregantur, dissipati in communi deserto vagantur; et in seipsis à reliquis non penitus discernuntur, nisi peculiari Dei misericordiâ custodiantur ne in æternam mortem prolabantur; †nec Deus ad tempus ullum aut vitæ qualitatem astrictus est, quo electos vocet, ita ut de nemine dubitandum sit,

* Calv. Inst. lib. 3. cap. 24. Dist. 10.

† Musc. loc. com. de fide, cap. 7.

in quocunque vitæ curriculo fuerit, aut quancunque tandem vitam egerit: Nam nullum genus peccati adeò est grave, quod cœlestem vocationem prohibere queat. Ex quibus luce meridianâ clariùs liquet, ob id non statim de me desperandum esse, si non omnino vitæ adeò inculpatæ non fuerim, uti tu quidem dicturus videbaris.

Conc. Attamen tuum erat bonis, uti Apostolus docet, operibus salutem tuam firmam fecisse.

Fur. Quomodo hæc tibi tam ineptè exciderunt, Concionator? Anne Electio nostra à bonis operibus dependet? Deponam quòd non, et propterea penitus sum persuasus; *Ipsos Electos in gravissima scelera prolabi, utpote adulterium, homicidium; †imò interdum in tales errores, quibus salutis fundamentum sæpe ex parte, sæpe ex integro evertitur, ruere; vel aliâ ratione contra conscientiam quodvis Dei præceptum transgredi, et turpiter gravitèrque peccare. Verùm omnia ista minimùm obesse possunt. ‡Nam Deus electos suos peccantes damnare non vult, quandoquidem salutis illorum fundamentum in æternâ electione situm est, nec

* Zanch. in Miscel. p. 329.

† Ruard. Acron. Explic. Catech. quæst. 53. fol. 137.

‡ Wilhel. Teeling. in Dialog. de Statu Hom. Christ. p. 44.

mille peccata, imò omnia totius mundi peccata, adeoque omnes in inferno Diaboli, Dei electionem evertere nequeant. Fieri potest ut peccata nostra corda obdurent, fidem infirmam reddant, attamen fidem tollere not possunt, nec Spiritum penitus extinguere, ita ut Deus neminem propter peccata damnet, qui in Christo Jesu in filium est adoptatus.

Conc. An ergo non metuebas ne damnareris, aut in iram Dei incideres?

Fur. Nihil omnino metui, ne minimùm quidem: *Nam qui prædestinati sunt penitus rejici aut deseri in æternum nequeunt; semel, quia ex certo et immutabili Dei Decreto electi sunt; iterum, quia in Christo non nisi in perpetuum possunt diligere.

Conc. Verùm convertisse te debebas, et secundum Dei voluntatem te composuisse, ut peccatorum tuorum remissionem adipisceris.

Fur. Tu, quantum video, de †novo Fœdere non aliter sentis ac de veteri, quod in conditionibus legis situm erat; si hoc feceris, si crediderimus, constantésque perseveraverimus, Deus hoc illúdve faciet, &c. Quæ regula è diametro cum pacto novi Fœderis pugnat. ‡Deus pangit nobiscum Fœdus novum, et hoc

* Toss de Præd. c. 3. Zanch. de Nat. Dei. l. 7. q. 1.

† Smout. in Script. Consent. fo. 12.

‡ Id. fo. 31.

nobis promittit, non tantum absque ullâ conditione; sed etiam dum à conditione longissimè absumus; dum in mediâ morte peccatorum jacemus. *Ecce abluit Deus et remittit peccata antequam cor renovat et regenerat; et utrúmque facit antequam boni quid fecimus; etiam dum impuri adhuc sumus, et nomen ejus profanamus. Hoc inde progerminat, †quòd Deus omnes suos electos antequam crederent et resipiscerent, singulari, æterno, gratioso et salvifico amore est prosecutus. Enimvero (quemadmodum sancta Synodus Dordracena ‡inquit) Electio facta est non ex prævisâ fide, fideisque obedientiâ, sanctitate, aut aliâ aliquâ bonâ qualitate et dispositione tanquam causâ seu conditione in homine eligendo prærequisitâ; sed ad fidem fideisque obedientiam, sanctitatem, &c. Ac proinde Electio est fons omnis salutaris boni, unde fides, sanctitas, et reliqua dona salvifica, ipsa denique vita æterna, ut fructus et effectus ejus, profluunt.

Conc. Quousque tandem disputationem protrahes? Labella compesce, à disputando abstine, seram noctem esse cogita, et periodum tibi perbreve superesse; proinde sollicitus sis

* Smout. in Script. Consent. fo. 46.

† Gesel. Probat. fol. 33.

‡ Acta Synodi, cap. 1. art. 9.

quâ viâ certissimè salvari queas, dum vitâ hâc tibi excedendum. Pauli verba 1 Cor. vi. 10. tecum considera: Neque fur, inquit, neque rapax regnum cœlorum possidebunt; illud tamen tibi possidendum si salvari debes.

Fur. Anne animæ meæ miseræ arbitraris te pharmacum ostendere posse?

Conc. Crede in Jesum Christum, dole ob peccata, à Deo beatam implora catastrophem, et horam quâ tibi donet remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam.

Fur. Quid mihi credendum est ut rectè in Christum credam?

Conc. Credendum tibi est, Jesum Christum tui caussâ, passione et morte suâ, remissionem peccatorum et vitam æternam meritum esse: Hoc tibi in Evangelio præcipitur.

Fur. Quæcunque Evangelium præcipit sùnt-ne veritas vel mendacium?

Conc. Ipsa sunt veritas.

Fur. Anne Christus passione et morte suâ omnium caussâ ista acquisivit?

Conc. *Quantumvis humana ratio etiam in piis scandalum inde capit, et quidam ex Evangelicæ doctrinæ Doctoribus multum tumultuentur ac debacchantur quando audient doceri, Deum nolle ut omnes salventur, sed certi quidam;

* Pisc. con. Schafm. in Disp. de Prædest. pag. 12.

Christum item non pro omnibus esse mortuum; nos tamen utrúmque firmiter tenemus, firmissimis Scripturæ dictis innixi, ita ut disertis verbis asseram; *Deum reprobis nullum Mediatorem constituisse: Nam Christus electorum tantùm Redemptor est, non aliorum.

Fur. Annon † Christus reproborum caussâ mortuus est, et placamentum factus?

. *Conc.* Quæso si electa Christi es ovicula, quare reprobis et damnatis patrocinaris? Lege iudicium ‡Synodi Dordracenæ, illud te docebit; Quòd hoc Dei Patris liberrimum fuerit consilium et gratiosissima voluntas et intentio, ut mortis pretiosissimæ filii sui vivifica et salvifica efficacia sese exereret in omnibus electis ad eos solos fide justificante donandos, et per eam ad salutem infallibiliter perducendos; Hoc est, voluit Deus ut Christus per sanguinem crucis (quo novum Fœdus confirmavit) ex omni populo, tribu, gente et linguâ, eos omnes et solos, qui ab æterno ad salutem electi, et à Patre ipsi dati sunt, efficaciter redimeret, et fide donaret, quam, ut et alia Spiritûs Sancti salvifica dona, ipsis morte suâ acquisivit.

Fur. Anne omnes homines sunt electi?

* Perk. de Spir. Desert. pag. 3.

† Palan. Explic. quar. in Relig. diff. p. 154. quæst. 4.

‡ Cap. 2. art. 8.

Conc. Nullo modo; *Nam Deus tantum ex mero suo Beneplacito, sine ullo futuræ impietatis respectu, maximam hominum partem ad æternum interitum ordinavit.

Fur. Tandem seriò et bonâ fide mihi enarres, quem me existimas? Electum an reprobum? Respondésne, an dubitas? Eloquaris, nec verborum integumentis rem involvas, lingua in pectore non faciat divortium, cordis et oris esto concordia, uti sentis candidè et apertis verbis edissere. Hoc ut sciam est necesse; si sum reprobus mendacium crederem; Christus quippe reproborum caussâ nihil acquisivit: si sum electus, veritatem sequar, non mendacia; sed veritatem quærere opus demum est Evangelii. Proinde ante omnia sciam, utrùm electus sum necne.

Conc. Quivis † in Ecclesiâ Dei præcepta tenetur credere, quòd per Christum sit redemptus; reprobis æquè ac electis; quisque tamen peculiari modo. Electus tenetur credere, ut credens electionis fiat particeps; reprobis ut credens ex Dei intentione, eò minùs habeat quod respondeat: ‡ Atque ideo Christus repro-

* Pisc. cont. Schafm. Thes. 115. pag. 119. Smout. Concord. fol. 109. Bucan. L. C. de Prædest. quæst. 46.

† Perk. de Prædest. pag. 89. Goar. de Præd. Thes. 8. Dungan. Pacif. p. 68.

‡ Gomar. de Prædest. Thes. 21.

bis offertur, non ut salvi fiant, sed ut ab incredulitate et corde suo refractario convicti, omni excusatione careant.

Fur. Hoc vis dicere; Deum reprobos velle credere id quod est mendacium; Imò ipsum eos æternâ damnatione multare, quia id quod mendacium est non crediderint: et quid impedit quin ita? Nam * postquam Deo reprobos damnare stat sententia, perinde est quocunque modo illos damnet.

Conc. Subtilitates istas, quæso, mitte; Deûmque oremus potiùs ut æternam tibi salutem conferat.

Fur. Si orare vis, pro teipso ora: orando frustrà laborem impendere nolim: Si sum reprobus, non salutem consequar, si vel mille annos in precando insumerem: Nam † reprobatio firma et immota stat, adeò ut, sicut electi reprobari non possunt, pariter reprobi electi non possunt evadere. Est quippe reprobatio immutabilis tam à parte Dei reprobantis, quàm à parte hominum reprobatorum. Quid hìc ergo preces proficient? Ex adverso, si sum electus, Deus ab æterno salutem mihi destinavit, et ‡ omnes qui à Deo ante mundi creationem ad salutem ordi-

* Nicas de Schure in Instit.

† Polan. in Doct. de Prædest. pag. 139.

‡ Donteclock Instruct. de Prædest. p. 93.

nati sunt, Dei potentiâ (ut propositum electionis firmum stet) ad eam perducentur, tam firmiter et certò, ut impossibile sit illos damnari, aut tandem perire posse. Atque semper hæc fides mea fuit, secundùm quam ambulavi, et Synodus Dordracena adeò me in eâ confirmavit et certum reddidit, ut ustulari mallet, quàm vel tantillùm ab eâ recedere. Expressè enim asseverat; * Atque ut Deus ipse est sapientissimus, immutabilis, omniscius, et omnipotens; ita Electio ab ipso facta, nec interrumpi, nec mutari, nec revocari aut abrumpi, nec electi abjici, nec numerus eorum minui potest. † Concesso insuper quòd electi interdum juxta Dei permissionem, in peccata gravia et atrocia abripiantur, utl David, Petrus, aliisque Sancti, et ‡ talibus enormibus peccatis Deum offendant, mortis reatum incurrant, Spiritum Sanctum contristent, fideisque exercitium interrumpant, conscientiam gravissimè vulnerent, sensum gratiæ ad tempus nonnunquam amittant: Deus § tamen ex immutabili Electionis proposito Spiritum Sanctum etiam in tristibus lapsibus ab ipsis non prorsus aufert, nec eò usque eos prolabi sinit, ut gratiâ adoptionis aut justificationis statu excidant, aut peccatum in

* Cap. 1. Art. 11.

‡ Art. 5.

† It. Cap. 5. Art. 4.

§ Art. 6.

mortem, sive Spiritum Sanctum, committant, et ab eo penitus deserti in exitium æternum sese præcipitent. * Ita non suis meritis aut viribus, sed ex gratuitâ Dei misericordiâ id obtinent, ut nec totaliter fide et gratiâ excidant, nec finaliter in lapsibus maneat aut pereant. Quod quoad ipsos non tantùm facillè fieri potest, sed et indubitatè fieret; respectu autem Dei fieri omnino non potest, cùm nec consilium ipsius mutari, promissio excidere, vocatio secundùm propositum revocari, Christi mèritum, intercessio, et custodia irrita reddi, nec Spiritûs Sancti obsignatio frustranea fieri, aut deleri, possit. Imò quod amplius est, † cum reprobatio interna et æterna Dei sit operatio, quæ reipsâ non differt ab essentiâ Dei, quare de Electione non sit disserendum hoc duntaxat dicam: Apud omnes in confesso est et concessum, tam reprobationem quàm electionem non differre ab ipsâ Dei essentiâ, et proinde Deum ipsum esse, qui in semetipso immutabilis est, procul à me absit, ut rogem quò Deus mutatur.

Conc. Bone Deus! quàm abominandum est hujusmodi audire? Anne homo eò usque procedere potest, ut te, peccatis et miseriis onustus, nolit invocare?

Fur. Canerem potiùs, Concionator, ut cubicu-

* Art. 8.

† Polan. in Doctrinâ de Prædest.

lum resonaret, pulcherrimum hymnum à Bernardo Bishop, antehac in Geldrorum Oyen, nunc Ultrajecti Concionatore, confectum.

Conc. Si iste vir hymnum confecit, necesse est bonus sit, est enim Concionator doctrinæ Orthodoxæ; fac ut audiam.

Fur. Diligenter ausculta. Melodia Psalmo tertio ultra centesimum respondebit: breviter in eo, popularitérque percipies universam fidei mei normam ac regulam, secundum quam vivere juxta et mori statui.

I.

Benedictus sit Deus, qui me nondum natum, imò antequam mundus conderetur, ad salutem prædestinavit, non ex fide aut operibus, quæ in vitâ hâc facturus essem, sed ex ipsius duntaxat beneficentiâ.

II.

Benedictus sit Deus, qui ex immutabili suo consilio per Spiritum Sanctum suum intus me traxit, verbóque suo extus vocavit, qui cæcum intellectum meum et corruptos sensus Spiritu suo internè illuminavit, et indies porro magis magisque illuminabit.

III.

Arbitrium meum pravum, errabundum, servum et peccatorum mancipium, jugo hoc eman-

cipavit, ita ut nunc in viis Domini perpetuò incedere unicè desiderem; posse duntaxat mihi deest.

IV.

Benedictus sit Deus, qui Spiritu suo omnipotenti et verbo divino unanimiter operans fidem firmam cordi meo implantavit; talem fidem, támque indubitata fiduciam, quæ cruce aliis-que durioribus periculis infirma quandoque redditur, non tamen frangitur.

V.

Quis Dei electos seducet? Quis me à charitate Christi segregabit? Quis ex forti ipsius manu me eripiet? Nec Diabolus, nec mors, nec mortalia peccata robore et potentiâ in tantum prævalebunt, ut certum hoc mihi depositum eripian.

VI.

Deus optimus, qui bonum opus in me cœpit, pro misericordiâ suâ continuabit, et ad finem usque perficiet, ad finem usque miseræ hujus vitæ, Dominus Deus faciet, ut Spiritu suo semper stipatus perseverem.

Commentariensis. Finem tandem faciatis; disputationes istas et cantiones ampliùs audire nolim. Hiccine est hymnus Domini? Cantilena est quæ furciferum decebat, et à perversissimo-

rum nebulonum turbâ cani decebat. Pariter se habent doctrina vestra et fides.

Fur. Vituperes, Commentariensis, quantumcunque velis, insignem ego existimo esse hymnum, et si mihi moriendum fuerit, in patibuli scalâ illum canam, loco illius, Ex profundis, Domine, &c. Concionator qui hymnum composuit est ex Orthodoxis Contraremonstrantibus, non ita pridem ex parvulo viculo in urbem Ultrajectum evocatus, ubi pro hymno hoc abundè respondit, ipsúmque ita defendit, ut ibidem in Orthodoxâ Ecclesiâ tanquam Scripturæ consentaneus sit receptus.

Com. Hæccine est Orthodoxa illa doctrina, quâ Provinciæ hæ tantopere turbantur, quæque ut una in Ecclesiâ sancta habeatur, Synodi auctoritate, imò vi militum unicè agitur? Sanè delicati quid est.

Conc. Expediret, Commentariensis, te os tuum obstruere iis in rebus, quas intellectu tuo non assequeris: Vide quid dixeris, et desine Ecclesiam ejúsque doctrinam calumniari, aut malè tecum agetur, brevì nempe ad minimum à carceris præfecturâ deponeris.

Com. Si ista optima vestra argumenta sunt, Concionator, doctrina vestra non adeò bene sit firmata. Quantumcunque verò mineris, nihilominus hoc tibi dicam oportet; probè me animadvertere quòd parùm consilii nòris captivum

hunc ad veram pœnitentiam, et à peccatis ejus conversionem transferendi; imò quòd hominum vestrorum dogmatibus multò magis in iis obduratur. De Dogmatum vestrorum capitibus multùm sanè audiui, nunquam tamen credidi nisi nunc, ubi auritus et oculatus testis ex ore tuo omnia ista percepi. Hæccine certò est reformata doctrina? Si deformata nuncuparetur, id quod res est diceretur; utpote quæ ex se nihil operari et efficere potis est, præterquam securitatem in hominibus excitare, imò ansam præbere, ac stimulum addere in peccatis quibusvis perseverandi. Quocirca, Concionator, quoniam doctrinâ tuâ apud hunc ægrotum nihil potuisti proficere, abeas potiùs; ego laternâ accensâ alium adducam, hisce institutionis vestræ capitibus contradicentem, et diversum in Religione sensum sequentem, qui longè, opinor, certiùs faciliùsque ad dolorem de peccatis ac vitam meliorem deducet et adiget.

Conc. Facias quodcunque allubescit; id modò ratum tibi sit, te non impunè hoc laturum.

Com. Facias quod potes: ut viri hujus anima servetur, pluris majorisque æstimo quàm tuam gratiam: interim insignem tuam amarulentiam et rancorem satis supérque prodis. Deus noctem tibi bonam largiatur.

APPENDIX, No. III.

MODERN POLICIES,

TAKEN FROM

MACHIAVEL, BORGIA, AND OTHER CHOICE

AUTHORS :

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

Ἄλλὰ τὰ μὲν τοῖα, ἃ φράζομαι.—Hom.

Libidinem dominandi, causam belli habent, & maximam gloriam in
maximo imperio putant.—*Sulust. Fragm.*

Nam doli, non doli sunt, nisi Astu colas.

Sed malum maximum, si id palam pervenit.—

Plautus in Captivis.

Ambitio jam more sancta'st, libera'st a legibus.

Petere honorem pro flagitio, more sit :

Mores, leges perduxerunt jam in potestatem suam.

Trinummus.

THIS TRACT IS HERE REPRINTED FROM THE SEVENTH EDITION,

PUBLISHED IN 1657.

TO MY VERY GOOD LORD,

MY LORD R. B. E.

(PROBABLY RALPH (BROWNBIGG), BISHOP OF EXETER.)

MY LORD,

I was never so proud, as to think I could write any thing that might abide the test of your judicious eye: what I now send, appeals to your candour, entreating you to lay aside the person of a judge for that of a friend. It is at best but a pamphlet, whether you consider its bulk, or worth. The result of a few pensive hours spent in recollecting what the memory had registered from public observance, or private reading, in a theme so sadly copious as this is. If it be not impertinent to tell you what hinted to this trifle, it was this:—Having had an opportunity to look abroad into the world, I took some notice of the contrastos of the Italian princes, I remarked the Spaniard's griping Portugal, his grounds for the challenge of that kingdom, and his way of managing those grounds; I looked upon his method of propagating Christianity in the West; (where, one says, the Indian is bound to be religious and poor, upon pain of death.) Moreover, I observed with what artifice the Pope moderated in the European quarrels, and with what devices he twisted the Gospel and the advantage of the chair together; and in all the strugglings and disputes, that have of late years befallen this corner of the world, I found, that although the pretence was fine and spiritual, yet the ultimate end, and true scope, was gold, and great-

ness, and secular glory. But, my Lord, to come near, when I saw kingdoms tottering, one nation reeling against another, yea, one piece of a nation justling the other, and split into so many parties, and petty enmities; and each of these quoting Bible to palliate his mad and exorbitant opinions; I sighed, and it grieved me to see popular easiness and well meaning, abused by ambitious, self-seeking men; for there is a generation that is born to be the plague, and disquiet, and scourge of the age it lives in; that gladly sacrifice the public peace to private interest: and when they see all fired, with joy warm their hands at those unhappy flames which themselves kindle, tuning their merry harps, when others are weeping over a kingdom's funeral.

But, above all, it pierced my heart to see the clergy in such an high degree accessory to the civil distempers, and contentions, that have every where shaken the foundations of Church and State, so that (as the Catholic noted) there hath been no flood of misery, but did spring from, or at least was much swelled, by their holy-water. I searched the Evangelical records; and there was nothing but mild and soft doctrines: I inquired into the breathings of the Spirit, and they were pacificatory. I wondered from what precedents and Scripture encouragements these men deduced their practices, and at last was forced to conclude, that they were only pretended chaplains to the Prince of Peace: those torches that should have been for saving light, were degenerated into firebrands: those trumpets that should have sounded retreats to popular furies, knew no other music but martial All-arms.

I have endeavoured in the sequel, to represent to you

the arts of ambition, by giving you the picture of a person over covetous of glory: the piece is coarse, but yet like; drawn only in water colours, which some of greater leisure and abilities may possibly hereafter lay in oil.

You know, that the desires of man are vast as his thoughts, boundless as the ocean, a bored tub is not more insatiate.* It is pity that greatness should at any time be out of the road of goodness; and I would sometimes, if I durst, with Socrates, curse him that first separated profitable and honest.

It does to me a little relish of paradox, that wherever I come, Machiavel is verbally cursed and damned, and yet practically embraced and asserted; for there is no kingdom but hath a race of men that are ingenious at the peril of the public; so that as one said of Galba, in respect of his crooked body, *Ingenium Galbæ male habitat*; so may I say of these, in regard of their crooked use; that wit could not have chosen a worse mansion, than where it is vitiated, and made a pander to wickedness.

If you ask me, what I mean to trouble the world, that is already under such a glut of books, you may easily perceive, that I consulted not at all with advantaging my name, or wooing public esteem by what I now write; I knew there was much of naked truth in it, and thought it might possibly be of some caution to prevent the insinuation of pious frauds, and religious fallacies, into my native country; if any plain hearted, honest man shall cast away an hour in perusing it, he may perhaps find something in it resembling his own thoughts, and not altogether strange to his own experience. It is not the least of our misfortunes, that sins and vices are oft-times en-

* Πῶς τετραμένους, ἀπείρατος ἐπιθυμίας.—*Jamblicus*.

deared to us by false titles and compliments; being cozened with a specious name, though much incoherent to the thing we ascribe it: or else, omitting the vice which is the main, it intimates only the virtue, which is the by: as for example, we call an ambiguous man *μεγαλεπηβολος*, a person of noble aim and high enterprise: whereas, in truth, it signifies, an indirect affecter of grandeur. And I find, that by incautelous entertainment of these phrases, our judgments are often bribed to misapprehensions, and we seduced to bad actions. I have endeavoured in the ensuing discourse, to wipe off the paint and fucus: that so things may appear in their true complexion, unadulterated with the slights and subtleties of deluders.

My Lord, that your Lordship may be one of those which the dark poet calls *δὲς ἡβήσαντα*, that the youth of your honours may be renewed to you, that your happiness may know no other season but a spring, is the earnest vote of your bounden Servant.

TO THE READER.

READER,

THAT nothing in this might deter a common eye, the quotations are translated, not *κατὰ πόδας*, but as might best serve the sense and scope of the Author: yet I believe thou wilt find little in the English, which is not warranted by the original, or (which is more) by the truth. I invite none to it, but such as desire to be just valuers, and loyal observers of a good conscience. Now, if thou be not banished by the verdict of thine own breast, thou art welcome; otherwise read it, not as directed to thee, but meant of thee. This book is like a garment in a broker's shop, not designed to any one person, but made for any that it fits.

My intent was, to represent to you in the general (not mentioning particulars) a cursed, a wicked, but yet a fortunate Politician: it was a good caution that Cassius gave the Senate, concerning Pompey.* It is foolish to laugh in the face of Dionysius, and dangerous to shrug before Andronicus: it is not good to tempt the displeasures of tyrants upon idle scores; a thin shield will serve to keep out the style of a satirist; nor can I commend him that lost his bishoprick for a romance.

Therefore I brand not persons, but things; and if any man's guilt flashes in his face when he reads, let him mend the error, and he is unconcerned. It is to no pur-

* Nos illum deridemus, sed timeo ne ille nos gladio ἀντιμυκτηρίσῃ.

pose to tell that there is a second part, twin and coetaneous to this, that was once intended to run the same fortune ; but I have many reasons, besides my own weakness, to publish a valediction to the press, (especially as to discourses of this nature); and if ever, I would fain have it seen by a fairer light.

The great God of Heaven pour into us such inward props and comforts, as may help us to stem and bear up against the rugged traverses of degenerous times.

And let it beget in us milder opinions of adversity, when we consider that the winter of affliction does the better fit us to bear the eternal verdure of glory.

The time will come, when all shadows and apparitions shall vanish: glorious morn! when wilt thou dawn? Then these sullen clouds shall be scattered, right restored, worth prized, virtue honoured, vice degraded, and honesty rewarded. Farewell.

THE name of *prince*, which I often use, must be understood as convertible with any person or persons, whom God hath intrusted with a just supremacy; all the dialects of government being concerned in the abuse; I have made the chief, and most familiar, to represent the rest.

I am not ignorant, that the quotations may justly seem more numerous than method and the rule of art will conveniently allow. I have this to say, to vindicate me from affectedness; that I have been little studious of elegance and curiosity in the composure, esteeming nakedness to be the best dress of truth: and, if I mistake not, those attendants I have here procured her, may afford some material, though little ornamental advantage.

A PRÆMONITION.

It is far from the design of this Treatise, to derogate from the honour of the calling, or worth of the person of any sober Statesman. 'Tis a knowledge that no man observes with more due respect than myself; because I know it in no mean degree essential to the peace and flourishing condition of a Kingdom, or Commonwealth. 'Tis a jewel to be locked up in some few rare Cabinets; and not to be made cheap, and exposed to irreverence, by being bared, and prostituted to every vulgar eye. The Pseudo-Policy here mentioned is contradistinct to that science, which is ever built upon piety and prudence; for upon these solid bases your wise architect delights to raise the glorious superstructure of government in a prince, and subjection in a people: so knitting the interests of both, with reciprocal mixture, that the welfare of the one may be involved in the good of the other: that majesty may be preserved in its just splendour, and yet the

liberty of the subject remain inviolate. He is the Atlas of the falling state, cures it when sick, sets it when disjointed, meets it in its several pressures with suitable reliefs. Such was Philip de Commines, of whom one said, it was a measuring cast, whether Lewis were the wiser king, or Philip the wiser counsellor; such was Burleigh to our late Queen Elizabeth, whose advice had very eminent influence into the prosperity of her reign, which was such as I believe few ages can parallel, and future times will render her happy annals, as written like Xenophon's Cyrus,* discovering not so much what was, as what should be: not intended for a true history, but for the effigies of a just empire. So that if we love peace, or plenty, or liberty, we are bound in way of acknowledgment, to own that in Plutarch,† True Policy deserves to be put in the first file of virtues.

But as the corruption of the best things makes them worst, so this noble knowledge hath been abused to loose and ambitious ends by some men,‡ who seem to have sucked the venom out of all politics, misapplying what was good, and creating new, according to the ur-

* Non ad historiæ fidem, sed ad exemplum justî Imperii.

† Τῆς πολιτικῆς ἀρετῆς ἀνθρακίον· ὡς κτᾶται τὴν ἀρετήν. Cato Maj.

‡ Ophyogenes et Psylli.

gency of their own occasions, like the laws that were made in Causinus's Babel, to be ruled by manners, and not manners by laws. They vex true policy by misinterpreting, and false glossing;* framing in their hearts, Dianas of hypocrisy and subtilty, and worshipping them in their actions.

The rules following, there are few so silly as to believe, though too many so wicked as to practise; and not only so, but by a bold imposture to persuade, that such actions as are deduced from those principles are justifiable, and, if fortunate, commendable.

That all may see these rocks, and shun them, and detest knavery, though never so specious, and nauseate sin, though robed in successes and triumphs, is my daily prayer.

* *Furialibus commentariis illustrant.*

FIRST PRINCIPLE.

The Politician must have the Shadow of Religion, but the Substance hurts.

THERE is no superstition in politics more odious, than to stand too much upon niceties and scruples: and therefore Machiavel cut the hair when he advised, not absolutely to disavow conscience, but to manage it with such a prudent neglect, as is scarce discernible from a tenderness: not permitting it to be techy and reluctant, nor yet prostituting it, unless upon solemn and insuperable occasions. He notes it from Papirius in Livy, who slighted the Pullarii handsomely, and was rewarded; whereas Ap-pius Pulcher did it grossly, and was punished.

But because the politician is best able to tell his own documents, you may please to conceive you found these broken discourses in his study: to each of which I shall add an antidote.

External holiness invites awful regards; there is no mask that becomes rebellion and innovation so well as religion; nothing that so much conceals deformity, and pretends beauty. 'Tis

an excellent thing so to dissimulate piety, that when we act strongly against it, in that very article of wickedness the people saint us. Herod would fain worship, when he means to worry.

In th' act of sin do but religion cry,
Says Tereus, you as holy are as I.*

This is that which leads the world in a string, that hallows the most hellish enterprizes; for the common people (which are the *τὸ πᾶν*) never see behind the curtain; a handsome gloss is with them as good as the text. I believe the great naturalist was in the right, when he called a deity a jolly invention. 'Tis ridiculous to think, that God troubles himself about sublunary things, but 'tis not fit the world should know it.† Let me enjoy the temporal advantages of religion, and let others take the eternal; let me use it for a cloak or a crutch, and let others expect from it a crown.

The river in Athenæus‡ is my emblem, whose upper waters were sweet and grateful, but to-

* ——— Ipso sceleris molimine Tereus
Creditor esse pius.

† Irridendum, agere curam rerum humanarum quicquid est summum, sed credi ex usu vitæ est. Plin. l. 2. Cap. 6.

‡ 43 Fons in Mileto, cujus profluens aqua dulcissima, quæ vero in imo salsa.

wards the bottom brackish. Let me be a superficial, let others be fundamental Christians. I like the humour of the Samseans in Epiphanius, that were neither Jews, nor Gentiles, nor Christians, but preserving a commodious correspondence with all. Whatsoever I act in reference to heaven, is merely theatrical; and done in subordination to some other interest. Lycurgus could never have ingratiated his laws so effectually, if he had not pretended a dialogue with his goddess. 'Tis to me indifferent, whether the religion I personate be true or false, so it be but popular: and if the people I mean to juggle with, err fundamentally, I can by no means court them more, than by embracing their delusion. It buckles them very close to me in moral observance, to assist them in their spiritual fondness, and mix with their distemper; and therefore I commonly lead the van in the faction, and call it *Jure Divino*, though I never found it but in hell's black canons.

How comfortably the pope and cardinals conferred notes. How profitable has the tale of Christ been to us?* O the rich income and glorious result of hypocrisy! This, this must be diligently studied and practised.

* *Quantum nobis lucri peperit illa fabula de Christo!*

If that my deeds of darkness may
 Be hid in clouds as black as they;
 If being ugly I may paint,
 Why then I am a true new Saint.*

Privacy for a sin, and cleanly conveyance for a cheat, make it to common eyes seem as white as innocency itself: the strictness of that thief was very notable, who always before he went about the work of his calling (for so he called stealing) went to prayers, that God would bless and prosper him. So, I say grace to the design, be it never so wicked; and give thanks for the success, be it never so bloody.

But further in subserviency to a loose interest, there must be no such puling thing as conscience. Hell, and Heaven, and Scripture, and what else the Christian esteems most sacred, must all truckle under the plot, but not be observed when they come to oppose it. Had Alexander boggled at invading other men's kingdoms, he had never wept for the scarcity of worlds. There is no greater obstacle to generous actions, than a coy and squeamish conscience. 'Tis pretty that some tell us, that it strikes *surdo verbere*, with a still and silent

* ——— Du justum sanctumque videri,
 Noctem peccatis, et fraudibus objice nubem.

Horace Epist. b. 1. Ep. 16.

stroke; and then how can it be heard in the noise and bustle of a clamorous world? Had your mighty conquerors, and your valiant captains, and your thriving popes, listened to this inward charmer, their names had never swelled, and looked big in the rolls of fame.

COLASTERION.

But let all sober Christians know, that this shell of religion, though it may be of external conducement, yet there is nothing that God's pure and undeluded eye looks on with more abhorrency. We may possibly deceive men, but it is in vain to put ironies upon God. A counterfeit religion shall find a real hell; and 'tis pity that such a sacred thing should be violenced, and made subservient to rebellious irregular designs.

As for such who have conspired with the wrath of God in the stupefaction of their consciences, though they may for a time struggle with those inward checks, yet, there will be a day (if not in this life) when that witness, that judge, that jury, will not be bribed. God hath fixed it in the soul, as an internal register, as an impartial diary, as the censor of the affections, and pedagogue of the passions.* It does not

* Origen.

only illustrate divine justice in an *Autocatacrisy*, but was meant by God for a bridle and restriction. And he, that hath by an inveterate wickedness conquered the opposition which God seated in his heart to sin, may possibly consult well with his present advantage and greatness, but not at all with his future comfort; for besides the loss of that intimate pleasure which waits upon innocency,* he feels sometimes those bosom quarrels that verberate and wound his soul;—for

Συνίδησις τῇ Ψυχῇ πλάνη.

PRINCIPLE II.

The Politician must by all means make the most insinuating Applications to the People that he can; and lock up his own Design, in Pretence for Religion, Liberty, Restitution of Laws, Reformation of Gabels, &c.

THE prosperity of innovation depends, in a high measure, upon the right knack of kindling and fomenting jealousies and dislikes in the people; and then wielding those grudges to the favour and advantage of private ends: for the people

* Vinum in pectore.

are to the politician, like tools to the mechanic ; he can perform nothing without them ; they are his wings, his wheels, his implements, the properties that he acts with.

That this may be done effectually there must be an excellency, in these following sleights.

First. To assign such a cause of grievances. and such a course for redress, as may open a way to the alteration he aims at : as, if he means to alter the government, or to engross the supremacy, he must artificially convince of a necessity to arm, 1. defensively, and if that succeeds, 2. offensively. This he may do by false alarms of danger, inventing horrid news, and plying the people with such fictitious perils, as may make them believe, religion, and liberty, and all is at stake, and that they are the geese that must save the capitol.

Secondly. When he sees opportunity to reveal his own design, he must do it gradually, and by piece-meal ;* for that which at one view would be a Mormo to fright them, give it them in small parts, and they will digest it well enough.

Thirdly. He must compose his very garb and gesture. It is a great matter to tell a lie with a grace. As, if Religion be the mode, he must

* 'Εκ ἀποκαταστάσεως.

in his tales knock his breast, attest God, and invoke imprecations upon himself if he does not do that, which he never intends.

Fourthly. He gives them good words, and bad actions, like those the historian brands with a *Crudelitatem damnatis, crudelitatem initis*, ravishes them with apprehensions of liberty, under the highest strain of oppression: for it is most certain, if you please them with the name, they will embrace it for name and thing. Something like this had been imposed upon Rome, when the orator writ to his friend Atticus,* that they were cheated in names, for military licence was miscalled liberty. This is well described by Plautus in Truculento.†

Pretence white as milk,
And as soft as silk
Will do the feat:
Your hearts, as sour as gall,
Purpose our thrall,
And thus ye cheat.

Fifthly. He observes, that they receive probabilities wisely propounded, more greedily

* *Nomina rerum perdidimus, et licentia militaris libertas vocatur. Ingeniosi muscipulatores,*

† *In melle sunt linguæ sitæ vestræ, atque orationes,
Lacteq: corda felle sunt sita, atque acerbo aceto.
E linguis dicta dulcia datis, at corde amarè facitis.*

than naked truths: and therefore he is very studious to glaze and polish his impostures,* that so they may to a loose eye dissemble truth, according to that of Pindar.†

Glorious lies,
Well marshal'd tales,
Do still find favour:
Truth all forlorn
Intreats and wooes,
But none will have her.

But that of Menander:

Let but the vulgar judge
(The Poet knew)
They'd take the probable
And leave the true.‡

Sixthly. When he hath, by the assistance of the people, got the sword into his own hands, he awes them with it, and frights them into future compliance. He that courted them before with all the adulatory terms that ambition could invent, or they receive; as if he had been vowed

* Γλυκὺ ψεῦδος.

† ——— Βροτῶν φρίκα ———

ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀληθῆ λόγον,
διδασκαλμένοι ψευδοῖσι ποιήλοισ,
ἐξαπατῶνται μῦθοι.

‡ Τὸ πιθανόν ἰσχυρὴ τῆς ἀληθείας ἔχει
ἐνίοτε μείζον, καὶ πιθανότερον ἔχον.

their martyr, and ready to sacrifice his dearest enjoyments upon the altar of public liberty and freedom; as if his veins knew no other blood, but such as he would be proud to spend in their service; having now served himself of them, he forgets the bosom that warmed him; they hear from him now in a palinode; he curls up his smooth compliments into short laconics, and exchanges his courtship for command.

COLASTERION.

First, we may be assured, that there is no greater index of ambition, than an affectation of popularity : which appears in meek addresses to the people, wooing and familiar condescensions, bemoaning their sufferings, commending a more vigorous sense of them. That of the Comic is no bad rule :*

'Tis not for nought, when those above
Tender their service, and their love.
These are but profitable arts,
Their tongues are strangers to their hearts.

Or that which Livy notes of a grandee : pride

* Non temerarium est ubi dives blandè appellat pauperem,
Altera manu fert lapidem, panem ostentat altera :
Nemini credo, qui longe blandu'st dives pauperi.

never condescends without design.* The extreme kindness of fawning of great persons is always suspicious, because often fraudulent; remember the Sileni, that used to kill with hugs and embraces.

Secondly. Know it is very usual for men to personate goodness, till they have accomplished their ends; it is observed of Appius, when he had his wish,† he left wearing of another man's person. It is an old note.‡

Before the man
Had got his end
He was all Puritan:
What he would have
He thus obtained;
And then resumed Knave.

Athenæus tells a pretty story of one Athenion, born obscurely, who, as long as he was private and poor, excelled in a soft and tractable disposition, but when by juggling he had obtained the Athenian government, there was none more odious for a cruel, covetous and

* Credebant haud gratuitam in tantâ superbiâ comitatem fore.

† Finem fecit gerendæ alienæ personæ.

‡ Maxima pars morem hunc homines habent; quod sibi volunt, Dum id impetrant, boni sunt, sed id ubi jam penes sese habent,

Ex bonis pessimi, et fraudulentissimi sunt.

barbaric tyranny; as it is reported of Caligula, there was never a better servant, and a worse master.

Thirdly. We know, that a good aim, much less a good pretence, cannot justify a bad action; and therefore we ought to be as solicitous about the lawfulness of the means, as about the goodness of the end. It is a maxim in morality, that *bonum oritur ex integris*, and in Christianity, that we must not do evil, that good may come of it; and we may possibly rescue ourselves from future cozenage, if we examine the lawfulness of every circumstance leading to the end propounded, before we are tickled and transported with the beauty of the pretence.



PRINCIPLE III.

If the Supremacy be invaded, the Lapses of the former Magistrate must be inculcated with the greatest advantage, and what is wanting in reality, must be supplied in Calumny.

It cannot easily be imagined of what singular importance the aspersing and blotting of a prince is, to boil up popular discontent to that height, which is requisite for a rebellion; and

here it must diligently be inquired, if there have not been indeed such lapses, as have galled the people; and though they be old sores and skinned, yet they must be searched and refreshed, and exasperated with all the urging circumstances that come within the invention of scandal. It must be remembered, if any persons of public note have suffered under the sword of justice, whose crimes can by art or eloquence be extenuated, whose hard measure must be mentioned with tears, that so old traitors may be propounded for new martyrs. This hath been the ordinary method of ambition, as you may find it noted by a great scholar, in these words: "It was ever the most compendious way of usurpation, to dissemble a strong affection to our country; lamenting the vices of the prince, and miseries of the people; not with an intent to rescue them from servitude, but to get such a portion of favour, as may lift us up to the same pitch of honour on their shoulders; which having obtained, we transcendantly abuse, changing the rods of royalty into the scorpions of anarchy, aristocracy, or a free state."*

* Fuit hæc omnibus sæculis, et adhuc est ad occupandam tyrannidem expeditissima via, dum summo se amore, ac pietate in patriam esse simulant, principum vitia, et populi miseriam, apud suos primùm, deinde palam querebundâ voce lamentantur,

'Tis the fashion of fortunate rebels, to feed the people with shells and empty names, as if their bare assertion could demonstrate to us (against all experience) that 'tis freedom to be slaves to quondam peasants, and slavery to be subjects to a true and natural prince. And therefore if the prince be severe, he gives them Nero's brand, a man kneaded up of dirt and blood: if he be of parts and contrivance, he calls it pernicious ingenuity: if he be mild and favourable to tender consciences, he declaims against his toleration. If he urge uniformity and decency in divine service, he rails at his superstition. And because there is no such equilibrious virtue, but has some flexure to one of the extremes, he is very careful to publish the extreme alone, and to silence the virtue.

But if the prince hath by carriage of extraordinary innocence, vindicated himself from obloquy (which shall scarce be, if small faults be rightly improved), then Machiavel's advice must be followed, to calumniate stoutly, till the people have entertained something to his preju-

non quò plebem, cujus solius commodis inserviri videri volunt, ab illo servitutis iugo asserant in libertatem; sed quo populari aurà subnixi, aditum sibi et januam ad eam ipsam dignitatem, nequiora aliquando ausuri patefaciant. *Barcklay contra Monarch*, 30.

dice: 'Tis a figure in politics to make every infirmity a fault, and every fault a crime: and if the people be disposed to alteration, these must be first urged against a monarch to depose him, or, if need be, to murder him; which is commendable, if you can dress him up like a tyrant, as you may find it justified by an honest Scot,* who complains, that there are not some glorious rewards appointed for tyrannicides: and by the best of orators:† the Grecians gave divine honours to those that killed tyrants. And by the tragedian:‡

More grateful victim none to Jove can bring,
Than is the blood of slaughter'd unjust king.

And secondly, these personal faults must be artificially devolved upon monarchy itself.

There remains to disperse the commendation of that government which is intended for a successor: if aristocracy, the long-lived prosperity of Sparta and Venice, is a very plausible evidence of its goodness; if democracy, the happiness of the Romans under their tribunes,

* Buchanan.

† Græcos, Deorum honores tribuisse iis, qui Tyrannos necaverunt. *Cicero pro Milone.*

‡ Victima haud ulla amplior potest,
Magisve opima mactari Jovi,
Quàm Rex iniquus. *Seneca Hercules furens.*

is very memorable; to which may be added this out of Machiavel,* ‘that they are the most suitable guardians of any thing, who are least desirous to usurp it: and without doubt, considering the designs of the nobility and the people, we must confess, that the first are very ambitious of rule, the last desire only not to be oppressed.’

COLASTERION.

I presume that person is very rare, that can boast of such an absolute saintship, whilst he is amongst mortals, but that there will now and then some actions fall from him, which confess humanity, and require candour; some leaves in the volume of the fairest life, are *legenda cum veniâ*. If this be a common frailty, why do we fix such rigid censures upon the miscarriages of princes? Or why do we deny them the same mildness which we use, when we commiserate the infirmities of other men? ’Tis yet much more disingenuous to revive and pore upon a few bad actions, which, it may be, have been long ago expiated with many good. Take this from no mean statist:† ‘’Tis an unjust way of

* Up. on Livy, p. 22.

† *Iniqua in omni re accusanda, prætermisiss bonis, malorum enumeratio, vitiorumque selectio; nam ne ullus quidem isto modo magistratus vituperabilis non erit.*

accusing, to omit the good offices of a prince, and to select and publish only his bad ; for by this means, no magistrate shall be innocent.

As greatness gives a gloss to the virtues of a prince, so it mitigates his vices ; for if we look upon him as circled with honour, and all outward enjoyments, we see withal, what variety of temptations he hath to struggle with above others, having no other guard, no other weapon, than his mere virtue ; sometimes, we are defended from a sin, by our very impotency ; it may be above our sphere, or out of our reach ; we do not, because we cannot ; how often are our wills offenders, when our hands are innocent ? We are checked from without, he commonly from within, having nothing to dispute with his immoderate desires, but himself. This is that which enhances the goodness of a prince, as that excellent poet (Spencer,) leads his temperate knight through all the delicacies and charms of pleasure, and delivers him a conqueror.

But suppose a magistrate really tyrannical ; it is no contemptible question, whether the evils of the redress may not be equivalent to the mischief ? I remember Livy's,* ' We can neither abide the disease, nor the remedy ;' and

* Nec morbum ferre possumus, nec remedium.

Plutarch's,* 'A civil war is worse than an irregular monarchy;' and Tacitus,† 'The humours of kings are to be tolerated, nor is it useful to change them: whilst there are men, there will be vices. The miscarriages of a prince may be great, but the virtues of his successor may be greater:' and Seneca,‡ 'He is unfortunately sick, that is more in danger of his physician, than of his disease.' Poise the miseries of a civil war, with the grievances of an unjust magistrate, and the politician must make many grains of allowance from fallacy to make the scales even. For though the fury of incensed tyranny may fall heavy upon many particulars, yet the bloody consequences of an intestine sword are more epidemical and more permanent.

As to the charging the faults of a governor upon the government itself, I see nothing in it but delusion, nor can there be a more gross abuse, than to make the office guilty of the officer's abuse.§

* Χείρον ἴσται μοναρχίας παράνομον πόλεμον ἐμφύλιον.

† Ferenda Regum ingenia, neque usui esse crebras mutationes: vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hæc continua, et meliorum interventu pensantur.

‡ Infelicitè ægrotat, cui plus periculi à medico quàm à morbo.

§ Τὴν τῶν αἰθερώπων πολιτείαν ἐπὶ τὰ πρῶτα μεταφέρειν. Isocrates.

For king-killing, because I know it a techy subject, I shall wholly omit all discourse of it; only I find it damned by an able English divine,* as Jesuitical; and Tacitus commends to subjects rather *scutum* than *gladium*, the shield of patience and toleration, rather than the sword.

PRINCIPLE IV.

The Politician must nourish some mercenary Jesuits, or other Divines, to cry up his aims in their Churches, that so the poison may insinuate more generally into all the parts.

HE that peruses history will find, that there hath been no innovation so gross, no rebellion so hideous, but hath had some ecclesiastical fomenters; for such as want worth enough of their own to reach preferment in a regular way, are most apt to envy the just honours of better men; and despairing to obtain their end by learning and piety, they aspire to it by the crooked means of faction and schism. Nor are those despicable instruments to the politician,

* Jo. Goodwin in his *Anticavalris*.

for the sharpest sword in his army cannot vie services with a subtle quill. You may see his business in the comic writing* disputing, that so his tongue is a shield to his patron's opinion, and a sword to his adversaries.

The Jesuit reckons it in the number of his merits, if he may, by any sinister ways, ruffle and disorder heretical kingdoms (so he calls them), encourage weak and unstable minds to slight magistracy, irritate divisions, tumults, rebellions, absolve from oaths, and all sacred ties; so that it is hard to find any tragical scene, or bloody theatre, into which the Jesuit hath not intruded, and been as busy, as Davus in the comedy, contributing in a very high measure to every fanatic insolence, justifying the old Lemma of Loyola's picture, *Cavete vobis principes*. These are the fire-brands of Europe, the forge and bellows of sedition,† infernal emissaries, the pests of the age, men that live as if huge sins would merit heaven by an anti-peristasis.

2. Nor is any nation without some turbulent spirits of its own, the dishonour of the gown and pulpit, the shame, and sometimes the ruin,

* Γράφειν, βελεύειν, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμῆσαι.—Aristophanes.

† Classica canere.

of their country ; you would think they had their text from a Gazette, because you hear so much of a curranto in the application ; that these may be fit implements for the politician, there are these requisite qualifications.

1. There must be a principal gift of wresting the Scripture, vexing and urging the holy text, constraining it to patronize the design ; the great Apostle expresses this in three very emphatical terms : *1. Cogging the Die, making the Word speak what they list. †2. Crafty Applications, and Expositions of it. ‡3. All the Methods and Arts of Cozenage,§ gilding and varnishing rotten doctrines. And this must be done,

1. In public, vomiting out flames and sulphur from that Sacred Pegma, where he should deliver none but mild and soft, that is, Evangelical embassages.

||2. In private, at parlour sermons, and meeting houses, where he is listened to as an oracle ; and here commonly he is more Enthusiast than Scripturist, and his auditors believe his dreams to be as canonical as the Revela-

* Κυβία.

† Πανουργία.

‡ Μεθοδία πλάτης.

§ Όρραιζονται και χρυσιαζονται λόγος.

|| Όικαφθόροι. Evangeliophthori.

tion; like those Melancthon speaks of, Their dreams are all new lights;* or those that the Father chides, when he tells them that every whimsey is not prophecy.†

3. He ought to be of some abilities in disputing; and what he wants in logic, he must supply in garrulity: for whatsoever he affirms, the interest he hath in his seduced hearers, improves into a syllogism. You ask after his topics,‡ he has his arguments from Gregory, but not the Saint. If, after his weapons,§ he carries the name of Christ in the van of rebellion and robbery; and the wound he makes is faction;|| those consciences which will not surrender to his parley, his Master takes by storm: and thus he abuses Christ, by pretending his favour to unwarrantable actions: he abuses his prince, by alienating the affections and allegiance of his subjects; he abuses the church, by shattering it into rents and schisms, wounding it with a feather from its own wing, snatching a coal from the altar, to fire both Church and

* Quicquid somniant, volunt esse Spiritum Sanctum.

† Οὐ πᾶς ἐνύχτιος ἰσθὺς ἀποφασίς.

‡ Ex officina carnificum argumenta petit.—Popul. Ταχυλογία.—S. Hierom.

§ Armat se ad latrocinium per Christi nomen.

|| Strada.

State;* And lastly, he abuses himself; for when the politician hath made his best use of his seditious spirit, he leaves him to his own wild distempers, having directed his own thoughts to another goal.

COLASTERION.

Although we have caution enough against these in sad and frequent experiences, these latter ages groaning under the effects of an exorbitant clergy; yet such is the easiness and credulity of the vulgar, such the subtlety and dissembled sanctity of the impostor, that he meets with as great a proneness in the people to be cozened, as he brings willingness to delude; for it is a true observation, that these clancular Sermocinators bear as great sway in popular minds, and make as deep impression upon their consciences, as the loyalists do when they impose upon their blind laity.

I dare only subjoin a few advices.

First, I should suspect a clerical statist, I mean such a one as in the dispensation of sacred oracles, tampers with secular affairs, unless it be in case of high concernment to his auditors' souls.

* *Ecclesiæ nomine armanini, et contra Ecclesiam dimicatis.*
Aug.

Secondly, I should believe him a juggler, that sprinkles his sermons with murmurs against the lawful magistrate, ecclesiastical or civil; unless he hath some better ground for his dislike, than a thwarting his humour in things controversial and adiaphorous.

Thirdly, I should more than doubt his knavery, that should suborn Scripture, to attest, or incite to illegal actions, as of kin to that which Salvian calls* religious wickedness.

Fourthly, † All news in religion, whether in doctrine or discipline, is the common skreen of private design. Let Mæcenæ tell it, ‘All innovators in religion, let them be severely punished, for they are fomenters of sedition.’‡ Which is noted by the great Casaubon in his Epistle before his Baronian exercitations, thus: ‘Novelties in the church are never without these sad consequences; they rend the seamless coat of our blessed Saviour; they breed schisms, and then brood and multiply them; they shake the fundamentals of the Church and State,’§ &c.

’Tis sad to see Urania, divine Urania, inrolled

* Religiosum scelus.

† Καινοφονία.

‡ Τὰς δὲ ξιζουλὰς τὶ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβείας, ἢ μίσηι ἢ πέλαι, πολλὰς γὰρ ἀναπτύσσουσιν ἀλλοτριωσμοῖν.—Apud Dion. Cass.

§ Cupiditas novandi hæc secum mala semper trahit; Christi inconsutilem tunicam lacerat, sectas novas parit, et statim multiplicat, Ecclesiam et populum concutit, &c.

in blood ; the stars and luminaries of the church, to shed such black and malignant influences ; in lieu of pious documents to hear none but furious incentives ;

No matter for the church, or laws.

You may confide in such a cause.*

† The cause they serve is the doctrine, and the use, the egg, the apple, the head and foot of all their discourses ; if you like to confer notes, you may find a piece of their sermon in Barclay, to this effect ; ‘ They extol Evangelical liberty, that no Christian minds should be yoked with Christ’s government, that all should enjoy free consciences ; that the Gospel is soft and mild, nor does it seek to reduce any by violence : they beg the same enlargement and scope for themselves, which they gladly allow to others.’ ‡

* *Ite alacres, tantæque, precor, confidite causæ.*

† *Papirius.*

‡ *Se Evangelii libertatem prædicare, nullam Christianis animis vim inferre, suam cuique conscientiam liberam relinquere, verbo ducere, non vi quemquam adigere ; eam esse Evangelii doctrinam, ut omnes conscientiæ fruantur libertate : sibi que ut id liceat, votis omnibus postulare.*—*Con. Monarch. p. 32.*

PRINCIPLE V.

If Success waits upon his Enterprises, he urges it to authenticate his Cause.

THERE is no argument more popular than success, because the bulk of men is not able to distinguish the permission of God from his approbation: and although it be in itself fallacious and feeble, yet the misery of the conquered denies them the opportunity to dispute it; for the opposition of the sword will never be confuted by the bare fist of logic. Nor doth the victor commonly permit any ventilation of his dictates; for when the body is a slave, why should the reason be free? * As the soldiers in Plutarch wondered any would be so importunate to preach laws, and moral reasons, to men with swords by their sides; † as if arms knew not how to descend to rational inquiries, but were enough justified by an odd kind of necessity of their own creating; like those in Livy, ‡ that all laws are engraved on the hilt of a victorious sword, to whose mandamus all other statutes must submit.

* Δύλος σίφουκας, ὃ μάλιστα σοι λόγῳ. In Pompejo.

† Οὐ πάντως οἱ ἡμῖν ὑπεζωσμένοις ξίφη, νόμους ἀναγιγνώσκουσις.

‡ In armis jus ferre, et omnia fortium virorum esse.

I have often considered with myself, what should move tyrants to print justifications of themselves, and assertions of their proceedings, which, I suppose, never made an understanding man a convert, nor met with a cordial reception in any, unless the abuse of a few, poor shallow believers, be thought a triumph worth their pains. I have sometimes thought, they do by these papers please themselves in their abilities to delude, and so gratify their tyranny over the noblest part of man, by denying the liberty of the thought, and subduing the powers of the soul to an implicit coherence with their own magisterial opinions.

But our politician, by quoting the success of his undertakings, besides the plausibleness and insinuating nature of the proposition itself, hath the advantage of power to make us believe him.

Nor is this bait contemptible; many of parts and prudence, yea and of religion, have been staggered by it. Some question whether Dionysius deserved the brand of atheism, considering the wild conceits they then had of their gods; or differed from the common creed, crying out, O how the Gods favour sacrilege! when he had a merry gale after a sacrilegious attempt. The best of the Roman historians calls the victory, the just arbitress of the cause: 'The event of the war, like an impartial judge, shall knit

victory and right together:’* so hard is it to persuade mere reason, that virtue may be unfortunate, and vice happy.

He was no small poet, that argued himself out of his Gods, by seeing wickedness honoured, and worth slighted: which he expresses thus:†

Licinus does in marble sleep,
A common urn does Cato keep,
Pompey’s ashes may catch cold;
That there are Gods, let dotards hold.

There may be some use made of that in Seneca,‡ ‘ Prosperous mischiefs are cardinal virtues in the world’s ethics;’ and therefore the tragedian repeats it.§ The unwarrantableness is hid and concealed in the glory of the success; we often praise the Macedonian conquest, but seldom mention their boundless and unjust ambition.

On the contrary, if an undertaking really good miscarry, we censure it: so that according to the vogue of the world, it is the event that gives the colour to the action, and deno-

* *Eventus belli, velut æquus Judex, unde jus stat, ei victoriam dabit.*

† *Marmoreo Licinus tumulo jacet, at Cato parvo,
Pompeius nullo; quis putet esse Deos?*

‡ *Honesta quædam scelera successus facit.*

§ *Prosperum ac felix scelus virtus vocatur. Herc. Fur.*

minates it good or bad. ‘ We adore the fortunate, and despise the conquered.’*

COLASTERION.

There is some of this leaven in the judgments of most, notwithstanding those brighter discoveries, in the noon of Christianity we live under. A Bible, thoroughly observed, would expound to us much of the riddle, and dark passages of Providence: we are so short sighted, that we cannot see beyond time; we value things, and men, by their temporal prosperities, and transient glories; whereas if we put eternity into the other scale, it would much out-poise that worldly lustre, that so much abuses our eye, and cozens our understandings.

I find not in holy writ, that God hath inseparably annexed goodness and greatness, justice and victory: he hath secured his servants of the felicities of a better life, but not of this. Christ’s kingdom was not, our happiness is not, of this world.

Nor doth my Bible shew me any warrant for appeal to Heaven for the decision of this, or that intricacy: by bestowing success upon this party, or that cause, according to its righteous-

* Τὸ κρατῆσαι τιμᾶται, τὸ ἀπολαλῆς καὶ αἰετίζομαι.

ness, and due merit. There is a vast difference betwixt ἀτύχημα and ἀδίκημα, even in Scripture construction.

The great Turk may justly exult and prune himself in discourses of this nature, if they be once admitted, and owned by Christians: and I shall forbear any longer to think Mahomet an impostor, and must receive the Alcoran for Gospel, if I shall be convinced, that temporal happiness and triumph are a true index of divine favour. Our religion hath something more to invite our closure with it; it proposes a conveniency on earth, but the crowns and garlands are reserved for Heaven.

The money-god in Aristophanes,* pretends a command from Jupiter, to distribute as great a largess to the wicked, as the good; because if Virtue should once impropriate riches, that fair goddess would be more wooed for her dowry, than for her native beauty: so if Religion were attended with those outward allurements that most take the senses; we should be apt to follow Christ for the loaves, and overlook the spiritual charms, and more noble ends of Christianity.

The heathen could say,† ‘ Happy piracy is a

* In Πλουτ.

† Fœlix prædo, mundo exemplum inutile.

thing of unhappy presidency;’ fortunate sins may prove dangerous temptations; but to say, that God doth signally attest the actions of such a person, or the justice of such a cause, by permitting it to prosper, and taper up in the world, is such a deceit, as deserves our serious abhorrence—I leave it with Ovid’s wish:*

Let him for ever in success be poor,
That thinks it justifies his cause the more.

PRINCIPLE VI.

The Politician must change with the Times.

THAT alterations and revolutions in kingdoms are the rods with which God scourges miscarrying princes, is resolved by my lord of Argen-ton: to which may be added out of Aristotle, in the fifth of his Politiques†—‘ That the ruins of a kingdom are often derived from fraud and subtleties.’ I shall omit an inquiry into other causes, as foreign to my present purpose.

The politician knows best how to improve these popular gusts, because he caused them :

* — Careat successibus opto,

Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.

† Per fraudem et dolum regna evertuntur.

such a storm is his seed-time. It is the boast of a Dutchman, that he can sail with all winds: the aspiring man observes the quarter whence the fairest gales of preferment blow, and spreads the sails of his ambition to entertain them; nor can the compass breathe more varieties, than his dexterous soul has changes, and garbs, and suitable compliances.

What the orator calls his top and perfection, to make happy application to the several humours and genius of all sorts of men, qualifying his address with what he knows will most charm the person he treats; that the politician does not only with his lip, but life: you may find all those figures and tropes digested into his actions, and made practical, that are in the other only vocal.

He remembers that of an English marquis (Pawlet of Winchester*) who having successfully served four princes, and still in the same room of favour, unshaken with the vicissitudes he had run through; being asked by one, by what means he preserved his fortune? he replies that he was made † of the pliant willow, not stubborn oak, always of the prevailing religion, and a zealous professor. This easiness and bending is of absolute necessity; for if the same temper, which insinuated in violent times,

* Nanton's Regalia.

† Ex salice, non ex quercu.

were retained in a composed and settled government, it would be altogether distasteful; and so, on the contrary.

Therefore, if religion be fashionable, you can scarcely distinguish him from a saint: he does not only reverence the holy ministers, but, if need be, he can preach himself: if cunctation prevails, he acts Fabius: if the buckler must be changed for a sword, he personates Marcellus: if mildness be useful, Soderini of Venice was not more a lamb than he: if severities are requisite, Nero's butcheries are sanctities, compared with his: as Alcibiades, in Plutarch, shifted disposition as he altered place (being voluptuous and jovial in Ionia, frugal and retired in Lacedæmon) so he proportions himself to time, place, person, religion, with such a plausibleness, as if he had been born only to serve that opinion, which he harboured but as a guest, while it continued in sway: having a room in his heart, if occasion be, to lodge the contrary, and to cry it up with as much ardour, as he once used to extol the former. And thus, like a subtle Proteus, he assumes that shape that is most in grace, and of most profitable conducement to his ends. All his consultations turn upon the hinge of self-interest.*

* In eo stant consilia, quod sibi conducere putat.

He abounds in that which Varro calls* a voluble wit, like the changeling derived by Plautus, as more turning than a potter's wheel.

He hath this advantage of the camelion, that he can assume whiteness ; for I find him often wearing the vest of innocency, to conceal the ugliness and blackness of his attempts.

Finally, he is the heliotrope to the sun of honour, and hath long since abjured his God, religion, conscience, and all that shall interpose, and screen him from those beams, that may ripen his wishes and aims into enjoyments.

COLASTERION.

But the true statesman is inviolably constant to his principles of virtue and religious prudence ; his ends are noble, and the means he uses, innocent : he hath a single eye on the public good ; and, if the ship of the state miscarry, he had rather perish in the wreck, than preserve himself upon the plank of an inglorious subterfuge. His worth hath led him to the helm ; the rudder he uses is an honest and vigorous wisdom ; the star he looks to for direction is in Heaven ; and the port he aims at is the joint welfare of prince and people.

This constancy is that solid rock upon which

* *Versatile ingenium ; rota figulari versatilior.*

the wise Venetian hath built its long-lived republic: so that it is not improbable the maiden queen borrowed her motto of *Semper eadem* from this maiden commonwealth.

It is true, something is to be conceded to the place, and time, and person; and I grant that there are many innocent compliances. Virgil's *Obliquare sinus*, is observable, there may be a bending without a crookedness: we may circumire, and yet not aberrare; Paul became a Jew, that he might gain the Jews, but he did not become a sinner, that he might gain sinners; he was made all things to all men, but he was not made sin to any: that is, his condescensions were such, as did well consist with his Christian integrity.

Greatness, and honours, and riches, and sceptres, those glorious temptations that so much enamour the doting world, are too poor shrines for such a sacrifice as conscience, which the politician hath so much abused by an inveterate neglect, that it is become menstruous, ephemeral.

PRINCIPLE VII.

If the Politician find reason to impose Oaths, let them be of such ambiguity, as may furnish with a sense obliging to the design, and yet so soft, as the people may not feel the snare.

It appears, by sad experience, that in propounding of oaths, requiring promises, and other solemn ties, there have been multitudes induced to bind themselves upon some secret, loose, and mental reservation; which they have framed to themselves as a *salvo* in case of breach: so apt we are, in affairs of greatest importance, to advise more with corrupt wit, than sound conscience.

In the catalogue of self-delusions, you may possibly find these:

1. We are ready to interpret the words too kindly, especially if they be ambiguous; and it is hard to find terms so positive, but that they may be eluded indeed, or seem to us to be so, if we be disposed.

2. Some are invited to illicit promises, quia illicit, because they know them to be invalid.

3. Some are frightened into these bonds, by threats, and losses, and temporal concernments, and then they please themselves that they swear by duress, and so are disengaged.

4. Some are oath-proof; I mean, there are such sear-souled men, as will swear *pro* and *con*.

5. Some have learned from the civilians, that though we swear to a thing not materially unlawful, yet, if it impedes a greater moral good, it becomes void.*

6. Some take liberty to swear, because they judge the person to whom they swear incapable of an oath: as Cicero defends the breach of oath to a thief, from perjury; and Brutus, to a tyrant: as it is in Appian,† ‘The Romans esteem it an honest perjury, to violate their faith with tyrants.’

The first sort of these falls most properly under the notice and practice of our politician; though he may also use the last, but at different times.

It is not difficult for him to cast his desire into such soft glib expression, as will down with most: yea, with many that would absolutely disavow the same thing in rough language. If he be unskilled in this black art, I commend him to the pedagogy of the Delphic devil.

Now it is most certain, there is no other tie of such security, and establishment, to a person that hath ravished greatness, and acquired it by

* Grot. de jur. belli, 245.

† ‘Οὐδὲν σφατέον ἵστι Ρωμαίοις πρὸς τύραννον, ἢδ’ ἱεροκτον.

violence. Usurpation hath only these two pillars, its own arms and militia, and public oath and acknowledgment; and it is scarce worth query, whether, when the gross of a nation is thus bound, the oath be not as valid, and the conscience as much concerned, as if it had been sworn to a lawful prince. It is reasonable, that an usurping power cannot, upon any prudent persuasion, have the same confidence in the love of the people that a just one hath: nor is the following government enticing, as Tacitus notes, ‘Never any kingdom, badly acquired, was well administered.’* The same with Cuazzo, where one, objecting the vices of princes, receives this answer, ‘Therefore they were not natural princes, but violent usurpers, and so more beholding to the fear than love of their subjects.’† And therefore if the politician can, by the blessed means fore-mentioned, gain a superiority, there is no trusting to those ingenious guards, his own goodness, and the love of others: his best defence is awe, and fear, and scaffold, and gibbet, and the like. For he that hath no voluntary room in the hearts of his people, must use all means to gain a coercive.

* Nec quisquam imperium malis artibus quæsitum benè administravit.

† Perchè non erano principi per natura, ma per violenza; ed erano più temuti che amati. *De civil. convers.* l. 2. p. 132.

For his own promises, he puts them into the same bottomless bag, which, the poets say, Jupiter made for lovers' asseverations: his word is as good as his oath; for they are both trifles, as it is in Plautus.

A bargain shall no bargain be,
If I can no advantage see;
A bargain shall a bargain be,
If it with my designs agree.*

It was he that first invented that useful distinction of a lip-oath, and a heart-oath; you may find him in Euripides.

I with my tongue can swear,
And with my heart forbear.†

He makes good use of that in Plutarch, that children are to be cozened with rattles, and men with oaths.‡

It is an huge advantage, that man hath in a credulous world, that can easily say and swear to any thing; and yet, withal, so palliate his falsifications and perjuries, as to hide them from the cognizance of most; the politician must be furnished with handsome refuges, that may

* Pactum non pactum est, non pactum pactum est, cum illis lubet. Aulular.

† Jurata lingua est, mente juravi nihil.

‡ Τὸς μὲν παιδας ἀσφαγαλοῖς διὸν ἐξαπαλᾶν, τοὺς δ' ἄνδρας ὄρκοις. Apoph.

seemingly heal miscarriages this way. He need not spend much time in inquiry after such helps; these declining ages will abundantly furnish his invention.

COLASTERION.

An oath is, in itself, a religious affirmation, a promise with God's seal; and therefore it concerns Christians to be cautelous before swearing, to swear liquidly, and to observe conscionably. It is a pity such slender evasions should satisfy us, as have been scorned by heathens. We are bound (says one of them) to the sense of the imposer, or else we do *ψευδοῦμεν*; we are bound to the performance of what we have thus sworn, or else we do *ἐπιόρουμεν*: it is much, that a moral conscience should more check them, than a clearer light can awe us: as if they more honoured the genius of a Cæsar, than we reverence the presence of a God: or else we should never engage in new protestations that do infer, yea, and sometimes positively quarrel with old. They had their *Θεοὶ ἐπιόρκοι*, their perjury-revenging Gods, to whose vindictive power they referred their offenders: they punished such as swore falsely by their prince with fustigation; but such as abused their Gods, were left to the dispose of their injured deities, as if they were at a loss how to find a

punishment equal to their sin. Hear how soberly Plato mentions (out of the noble commentator upon Philostratus), ‘It is wisely ordained, that the names of the Gods should not be used upon trifling occasions, for fear of polluting them; for the majesty of the Gods should not be employed, but in holy and venerable purity.’* See what real honour they gave to their counterfeit Gods; let us have a care, that we ascribe not counterfeit honour to the true God.

Our God hates every false oath: it appears in his severity to Zedekiah, for breaking covenant with the Babylonian monarchy, though a tyrant of the first magnitude.†

Were all subjects duly solicitous about the weight of this bond, we should be less prone to take, and more studious to observe it; I remember the scholiast upon Aristophanes, derives *ῥρκος*, *παρὰ τὸ εἶργω*, *τὸ Συγκλείω*, *ᾧθεν καὶ τὸ ἔρκος*, *ὅτι εἴρει τὸν ὀρκύμενον*. ‘It hedges in, and shuts up a man, and ties his hands behind him.’ I know not how some conquerors may cut this knot with the sword, or how some Sampsons

* En toutes manieres c'est un fort belle ordinance et institution, de n' user point du nom des Dieux legerement, de peur de les contaminer: car la majestè des Dieux ne se doit employer, qu' en un sainte et venerable puretè.

† Casaubon exercitat. 202.

may shake off these cords, or what gaps the licentious may make in this hedge; but such as value God, or heaven, or prince, or peace, can discover it no way better than in a sincere use of so divine an ordinance.

There can be no certain rule given, when to believe, and when not, what such as are, or would be great, please to inculcate to us. I find more wrecks upon the rock of credulity: and it is no heresy to affirm, that many have been saved by their infidelity. I commend that of Epicharmus,

Νᾶφι, ἐν μίμῳσιν ἀστυγίῳ.

PRINCIPLE VIII.

Necessity of a State is a very competent Apology for the worst of actions.

It has been observed, that in all innovations and rebellions (which ordinarily have their rise from pretences of religion, or reformation, or both,) the breach and neglect of laws have been authorized by that great patroness of illegal actions—necessity.*

* Εχθρὰ ἀνάγκη, Sæva necessitas.

Now the politician is never without such an advocate as this ; for he cares not to distinguish, whether the necessity be of his own creating or no, as for the most part it is, being indeed an appendix to the wrong he undertakes, and signifies no more than that he is compelled to cover wrong with wrong, as if the commission of a second sin were enough to justify the first.

He changes that old charitable advice : *Benefacta benefactis aliis pertegito ne perpluant* ; into *vitia vitiis aliis pertegito ne perpluant* : that so, heaping one crime upon another, the latter may defend the former from the stroke of justice.

He adores the maxim in Livy : ‘ That war must needs be just that is necessary, and those arms pious that are all our livelihood.’* It were very incongruous to desire that man to leave his crutch, that cannot walk without ; it is no less unnatural to invite him to quit his sword, whose life and fortune lean entirely upon it.

If he can insinuate the scope of the war to be legal, a little daubing will serve to legalize the circumstances : that of the civilians must be remembered : ‘ Nothing is unlawful in war, that serves the end and design of it :’† the oracles of

* *Justum est bellum quibus necessarium, et pia arma quibus in armis spes est.*

† *Licere in bello quæ ad finem sunt necessaria.* Victor. de jure belli, n. 18. 39.

the gown are too tender for swordmen; and it may be, he had wit in his anger, who affirmed, that martial law was as great a solecism, as martial peace.

If the people be once possessed that his aim and intention is fair, they will never expect that the *media* for attainment of his end should be retrenched by the strict boundaries of law: he manages that rule very practically: 'I may invade any thing of any man's that threatens certain danger to me, if I suffer him to enjoy it.'* Now he can very plausibly make this *periculum*, *certum*, or *incertum*, as shall best suit with his affairs.

It is a broad liberty that Grotius concedes: 'If I have no other way to assure my life, I may by any means repel any power that assaults it, though just: self-defence being a clear dictate of nature.'† When life, and liberty, and safety come in question, there ought no consideration to be had of just or unjust, pitiful or cruel, honourable or dishonourable.

Now when the people have, according to his

* *Rem alienam, ex quâ certum mihi periculum eminet, citra culpæ alienæ considerationem invadere possum.*

† *Quare si vitam aliter servare non possum, licet mihi vi qualicunque arcere eum qui eam impetit, licet peccato vacet; et hoc ex jure, quod mihi pro me natura concedit.* S. de Jure Belli, p. 424. Mach. on Livy, 627.

desire, got over the great obstacle, and digested the plot for pious, it is easy to set all future proceeding upon the score of liberty, safety, religion : and, if he be constrained to use means grossly unlawful, it is but to make them seem holy in the application, and all is well. For it is the humour and genius of the vulgar, when they have once rushed into a party implicitly, to prosecute it as desperately as if they were under demonstrative convictions of its justice.

Finally, He must make a virtue of necessity, because there is no other virtue which will so easily be induced to serve his proceedings as this ; she may well smile upon licentiousness, who hath herself no law.

COLASTERION.

Let that great rule be received, that no man can be necessitated to sin : our divines generally damn an officious lie ; and the equity binds from any officious sin.

It would soon cut the nerves of the eighth commandment, if necessities and urgencies, though real, were pronounced a sufficient excuse for stealing. But that which our politician calls necessity, is no more than necessity of convenience, nor so much, except we interpret that convenience, which may favour his own ends, and so is convenient for his design. He

uses necessity as the old philosophers did an occult quality, though to a different purpose; that was their refuge for ignorance, this is his sanctuary for sin.

Those civilians* that are most charitable to necessity, make it no plea at all, except it be absolute and insuperable; as, by the Platonic laws, only those persons are allowed to drink at their neighbour's well, that had in vain sought a spring, by digging fifty cubits deep in their own ground. We allow the disburdening of a ship, in imminent peril of wreck; but this will not excuse those, who, upon a fond or feigned prævision of a state-tempest, shall immediately cast law and conscience overboard; discard and quit rudder and steerage, and so assist the danger they pretend to fear.

Pausanias† tells of a chapel in Acrocorinth, dedicated to Necessity and Violence; those twin-goddesses may be fit objects for the worship of heathens; but it is a pity they should be so much adored by Christians.

If I mistake not, the fundamental deceit lies in a greedy entertaining those first pretences, and seemingly candid propositions, that are made to us, before they have passed those

* Less. l. ii. c. 12. dub. 12. un. 17.

† Cæl. Rhodig. 1025.

scrutinies and severe inquiries they deserve ; or been examined by the test of God's word, and national laws : all the rest are but ugly consequences of that absurdity we first granted ; according to the ancient philosophic maxim, ' Ἐνὸς αἵματος δοθέντος, πολλὰ ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι συμβαίνειν.

PRINCIPLE IX.

The Politician must wave all Relations, both sacred and civil, and swim to his design, though in a Sea of Blood.

SUCH as study to be great by any means, must by all means forget to be good ; and they that will usurp dominion over others, must first become slaves to the worst of tyrants, a lust after greatness.

Crescit interea Roma Albæ ruinis, begins one of the Decads ; that the walls of Rome were cemented with blood, is known and commended by Machiavel ;* although the superstructure was brave, yet, if we search the foundation, we shall find it laid in the red ruins of her wasted neighbours ; that the first founder became a

* Upon Liv. l. 2. c. 3. Thebe maritum, Timoleon fratrem, Cassius filium, hoc jure interfecère.

fratricide upon reason of state, to guard his new conquest by freedom from a competitor, is not only vindicated from cruelty, but asserted to be a piece of meritorious policy. Nor did this happen to the city in its structure alone, but after, in its reparation; when the sons of Brutus were sacrificed to the design of their father: so that Rome was not only nursed with blood, but after growth and ripeness, she sustained herself, lived and thrived upon *Magna et sanguinolenta latrocinia*; so that our politician can scarce want examples in the applauded actions of this city, to patronize the most crimson and scarlet sin, that ambition can prompt.

He admires the generosity of Nero's mother, who is reported to have said of her son: 'Let my son be my murderer, so he may be a monarch.'* According to the advice of an high spirited fury, 'an empire cannot be purchased too dear, though it cost the blood of millions.†

He is much taken with the gallantry of the Mamelukes, who abused the easiness of the Egyptian sultan, and wore the supremacy three hundred years, upon the length and keenness of an usurping sword.

And rather than want a bongrace, he com-

* Ἀποκτενιάτω με, μόνον βασιλευσάτω.

† Pro regno velim patriam, penates, conjugem flammis dare, imperia pretio quolibet constant benè.

mends the Ottoman wisdom; for the great Turk rivets himself to the imperial chair, with the bones of his murdered brethren. Aspiring desires are not only insatiate, but admit of any sin, that will promote their ends: see Bassianus murdering his brother Gota in his mother's arms; Andronicus strangling his cousin Alexius, lest he should have a part in the empire that had right to all; see Cæsar slighting the oaths by which he had obliged his obedience to the Roman senate.

Finally, Ambition knows no confinement, nothing so sacred but it violates. The Gods must bow and yield to it; as Tertullian—‘It is impossible to be ambitious without injury to the Gods; temples themselves are not exempted from the fury of the war; the sacrileges of the Romans were as numerous as their trophies, yet the Gods followed their triumphant chariots.’*

COLASTERION.

The Italian politician seems to intimate a scruple, when he says: *Si jus violandum est, regnandi causâ violandum est.* His (if) dictates an uncertainty; and if we appeal to the bar of nature, or divinity, (though possibly the entire

* *Id negotium sine Deorum injuriâ non est, eadem strages mœnium et templorum; tot sacrilegia Romanorum, quot trophæa; tot de Diis quot de gentibus triumph.*

assertion may have something of truth) yet we shall find that wicked (if) absolutely banished.

It is true, we may more justly pity him that swallows a bait fair and glistening, than a person that tempts temptations to deceive him, or catches at flies, and trifling allurements; because in the first case a greater reluctancy is requisite, and the dart may possibly be so sharp, as to pierce through the armour of a sober resolution; but all this will little succour him, who knows it to be a bait, and hath beforehand designed its beauty and fairness, to apologize for the foulness of the sin: for here the greatness of the temptation will not at all extenuate the grossness of the crime: no more than he mitigates his robbery, who shall plead, that he stole nothing but gold and jewels.

The world is much mistaken in the value of a sceptre or a crown; we gaze upon its brightness, and forget its brittleness; we look upon its glory, and forget its frailty; we respect its colour, and take no notice of its weight. But if all those gay things which we fondly fancy to ourselves are really to be found in greatness, yet still he pays too dear, that pawns his heaven for it; he that thus buys a short bliss, gives not twenty, or an hundred years purchase, but (if mercy prevent not) eternity.

It will be little advantage here, to introduce

the example of a Roman, or Turk, or Christian, if unlawful; such precedents may perchance baffle the vulgar (in whose creed you may insert what you please,) but will be very cold answers, when we appear before a severe tribunal: it concerns us rather to observe, how ambition claims kindred with every other vice, stoops and takes up every sin that lies in its way; and, if upon inquiry we find it to be indeed such a complicated mischief, it will become us studiously to shun it ourselves, and seriously to detest it in others.



PRINCIPLE X.

A general Innovation contributes much to the Growth and Security of Usurpation.

WE may receive this as a tradition, handed to us from the great patriarchs of policy, attested by the practice of the subtlest times; I presume it may be grounded upon these, or the like persuasions.

1. Because such an innovation raises the dust, and begets a cloud for the main design;

for when the waters are troubled, it is hard to see the bait.

2. Because the parenthesis betwixt an old and new government flatters the hopes of all parties, soothing those desires that are for a relapse into the old, and yet encouraging those that wish for the establishment of a new.

3. Because, when all things are reduced into a chaos and rude heap, when all the lines and lineaments of the former government are blotted out, that which is new written will be more legible, and the old sooner forgotten: for suppose a kingdom made a lump, without shape and void, and it is, like *materia prima*, prone to embrace any form; when an instrument is dis-tuned, you may set it to what key you please; and he that cannot sometimes loosen the strings, will never make good music upon Synesius's harp.

4. Because, by new moulding of jurisdictions, and offices of state, there may be a fair opportunity offered, of gratifying those that have served us; and for others, it is very familiar to see some stubborn and rigid opiniators, who have continued long unshaken, either by threat or argument, at length to surrender their principles, and bow the knee before the dagon of honour and riches; such is the flexanimous

power of golden eloquence, as it is in the adage.

The two great pillars which the mind uphold,
Not being mammon-proof, do bow to gold.*

Besides, we can find no better way to breed an absolute dependence, and make others adhere to our fortunes, than by winding the concerns of other men upon the same bottom with our interest; we may observe this from the practice of great favourites, who always delight in these props, and are careful to set their whole tribes in the sunshine of favour.

5. Because such a general deordination gives a taste and relish to the succeeding government, though in itself not so delectable; for Aristotle notes, that democracy is better than anarchy.†

There are many other advantages to be made by a due improvement of those turbid intervals; as the occasion of subdividing, and parcelling out your great end; for, by this means, they which refused to close with it in gross, will receive it in retail: and having entertained some portions of it, the grudge they bore to the whole, will be by degrees quieted and appeased.

Besides, when all things are ruffled and confused, it is then the devil's holiday, and there-

* Τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν σοφίαν πικρῶσι χαλῶναι. † 3 Pol.

fore our workday : the noise is so loud, that it drowns the voice of the law ; and there may be some truth in his waggery, who said, That such as mean to commit rape upon the body politic, must put out the laws ; as others upon a like occasion use to put out the lights.

Finally, if we ever hope to sin with impunity, to usurp prosperously, or to govern arbitrarily ; we must take out that lesson in Plautus :

If my own affairs require,
I can set the state on fire.
Let the ruined kingdom bleed,
So my private ends may speed ;
I can dance in such a storm,
'Tis a new way to reform.*

COLASTERION.

It is most certain, that sinister ends are promoted by innovations ; but it lies in our bosoms to promote or quench the innovations themselves : which we can no way better do, than by a strict adherence to the laws ; for as long as we maintain them, they will maintain us : if we observe these, it will rescue us from the hands of state novelists ; for we are not fit for their turns, till we are cross biassed with faction.

* Idem facere, quod plurimi alii, quibus res timida aut turbida est ; pergunt turbare usque, ut ne quid possit conquiescere.

As a caution against changes in government, give me leave to repeat, what was long since told us by an ingenious lord :* That all great mutations are dangerous ; even where what is introduced by that mutation, is such as would have been very profitable upon a primary foundation : and it is none of the least dangers of change, that all the perils and inconveniences which it brings cannot be foreseen ; and therefore such as make title to wisdom, will not undergo great dangers, but for great necessities.

But, further, let me appeal to general experience ; yea, let me ask thee, reader, if thou hast never before heard, or read of a nation, that was once the gaze and envy of its neighbours ; and yet being insensible of its happiness, or possessed with fond hopes of bettering its condition, has closed with pretended friends and real enemies, and gladly contributed to its own ruin.

So apt are men to catch at the shadow, though they hazard the substance ; we may guess at the moral of the frogs in the fable, who could find no satisfaction in a still prince, and were after forced to abide the severities of a tyrant they prayed for.

But if there be such distempers in a state, as shall necessarily require amendment, let it be

* Faulkland.

done with the pruning-hook of the law, and not with the sword of violence; for I never read, that illegal, or tumultuous, or rebellious, were fit epithets for reformation. And it is fit Christians should forbear the use of such surly physic, till they have levied a fine in the court of heaven, and out of the intail of the seventh beatitude.

This may suffice to reveal, in some measure, *arcanum ambitionis*.* I could add much more, but that I judge it a fitter task for our nephews, when pens shall be enfranchised.

And now, reader, let us mix our prayers, that God would for ever banish this cursed policy out of Europe, and the whole Christian world; and damn it down to hell, from whence originally it came: and let such as delight to abuse others, think of that self-cozenage, with which in the interim they abuse themselves; God permitting the devil to revenge the impostor. And whilst we are busy with politic stratagems, and tortuous arms to invade the rights of others; let us all consider, that this is not the violence which takes heaven.

Let it be a piece of our daily oraisons, that God would guard our pulpits from such *boute-feus*, as, like *Ætna* and *Vesuvius*, belched out nothing but flames and fiery discourses, using

* Ὑπερφανίας μωρέσιον.

the Scripture as preposterously and impertinently, as some pontificians, who, transported with the vehemence of Hildebrandian zeal, think the temporal monarchy of popes sufficiently Scriptural, from the saying of Christ to Peter.* Far be it from us to entitle the Spirit of God to exorbitant doctrine: it is easy to distinguish the vulture from the dove. The mis-carriages of the clergy have a deeper stain from the sacredness of their function; as probably he, that invenomed the Eucharist, has the more to answer for his triple crown.

It is manifest, that we are fallen into the dregs of time; we live in the rust of the iron age, and must accordingly expect to feel† the dotages of a decrepid world. What is become of truth, sincerity, charity, humility, those *antiqui mores*, whither are they gone? Did they attend Astræa into heaven, and have left such degenerate successors, as cruelty, pride, fraud, envy, oppression, &c.; such qualities as abundantly justify the worst of heathens, and dishonour the name of Christians? I think it may safely be affirmed, that if a new *Europæ speculum* were sincerely written, it might be contracted into this short summary:

I know the various humours of our times;
He that is wicked, now inflames his crimes

* *Pasce oves.*

† *Ultima senescentis mundi deliria.*

By making proselytes to hell; and he
 Joys in it, that he may have company
 In rapines, murders, thefts; now none can have
 His own, except he be, like them, a knave.
 The Church is stripp'd by sacrilegious hands,
 They that divided all, divide the lands.*

Hiulca gens, &c.

Wolves are of late turn'd shepherds, surely we,
 That have such guardians, are extremely free.

THAT eternal Majesty, which raised so brave a fabric out of such indisposed materials; that wields the world with his finger ever since it was made; that controuls the waves, and checks the tumult of the people; that sits above, and laughs at the malignant counsels and devices of wicked men: let his mercy be implored for the speedy succour of his distressed Church; that the rod of Aaron may blossom; that the tabernacle of David may be raised; that the subtle may be caught in their own snare; and that the result of all afflictions may be the greatening of his glory, and exalting of his sceptre.

* *Novi ego hoc seculum quibus moribus sit; malus bonum malum esse vult, ut sit sui similis; turbant, miscent mores mali; rapax, avarus, invidus, sacrum prophanum, publicum privatum habebit.*

APPENDIX, No. III.

OCCASIONAL

S E R M O N S

PREACHED BY THE

MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

WILLIAM SANCROFT,

LATE LORD ARCHBISHOP OF

CANTERBURY.

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A SERMON

PREACHED IN ST. PETER'S, WESTMINSTER,

ON THE FIRST SUNDAY IN ADVENT,

AT THE

CONSECRATION

OF

THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHERS IN GOD,

JOHN (COSIN), Lord Bishop of DURHAM;

WILLIAM (LUCY), Lord Bishop of St. DAVID'S;

BENJAMIN (LANEY), Lord Bishop of PETERBOROUGH;

HUGH (LLOYD), Lord Bishop of LANDAFF;

RICHARD (STERN), Lord Bishop of CARLISLE;

BRIAN (WALTON), Lord Bishop of CHESTER; and

JOHN (GAUDEN), Lord Bishop of EXETER.

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REVERENDO
IN CHRISTO PATRI, AC DOMINO,
DOMINO JOHANNI,
EPISCOPO DUNELMENSIS,

EOQUE NOMINE JURA HABENTI COMITIS PALATINI,
SACRÆ THEOLOGÆ PROFESSORI,
VETERIS SCRIPTURARUM CANONIS ADSECTORI ET VINDICI,
ECCLESIAE PETROBURGENSIS EX-DECANO,
DUNELMENSIS DECANO DESIGNATO, DIU CANONICO,
JAM ETIAM *καθολ.*
ANGLICANÆ ET FILIO ET PATRI OPTIMO,
ROMANÆ HODIERNÆ, ET NUPRÆ, OPPUGNATORI STRENUO
VETERIS ET PRIMITIVE, UT
CATHOLICÆ ADMIRATORI PERPETUO
ET CULTORI DEVOTISSIMO,
'Ὁμοίωσις καὶ 'Ὁμοίωσις'

VIRO,
QUI, IN UTRIVSQUE FORTUNÆ SEU DURIS, SEU LUBRICIS,
EODEM ANIMI TENORE USUS,
NONDUM PAR ANIMO PERICULUM INVENIT:
CUI, BONÆ, MALÆQUE FAMÆ MEDIO PERGENTI,
NEC AB EA, QUAM FIXERAT ECCLESIA,
VERITATIS LINEA RECEDENTI USPIAM,
(UTPOTE NEC HUIUS CONVITIIS TERRITO, NEC ILLIUS
ILLECEBRIS DELINITO;)
UBIQUE SUI SIMILI, UNDIQUE *τῆς αἰτίας,*
CESSIT TANDEM CALUMNIA,
NON VICTA SOLUM, SED ET TRIUMPHATA,
ET, QUANTUMVIS GARRULA, OBMUTUIT:
HANC CONCIUNCULAM,
EJUS JUSSU CONCEPTAM, NATAM AUSPICIIIS,
HORTATU, ET MANDATO IN LUCEM EDITAM,*
PERPETUÆ OBSERVANTIÆ PIGNUS, et *Μνημόσυνον,*
L. MQ. D. D. CQ.
GUILHELMUS SANCROFT,
PRESBYTER INDIGNUS,
PATERNITATI EJUS A SACRIS.

* Ne iis quidem omissis, quæ, præ fuga temporis, viva vox exequi non potuit.



S E R M O N.

Τὸν χρόνον κατέλιπόν σοι ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἵνα τὰ λείποντα ἐπίδοξῶς, καὶ καταθέης κατὰ πόλιν πρεσβυτέρους, ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διαταξάμην.

For this Cause left I thee in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order the things that are wanting, and ordain Elders in every City, as I had appointed thee.—Titus i. 5.

THIS epistle is one of the three, not unfitly styled the hierarchical epistles, *de statu ecclesiastico compositæ*, as Tertullian* speaks: being so many rescripts apostolical to Timothy and Titus, (the one desired by St. Paul to stay at Ephesus, Primate of Asia; the other left in Crete, Metropolitan of that,† and the neighbour islands;) directing them,‡ how they ought to behave themselves in the house of God, which is the church of the living God. True and genuine decretal epistles;

* Adv. Marcion. l. 5. in fine.

† Vide S. Hieron. in Catalog. Script. Eccles.

‡ 1 Tim. iii. 15.

not like that counterfeit ware, which Isidore Mercator,* under venerable names, hath had the hardness to obtrude upon the world; but of the right stamp and alloy; and such, as St. Augustine saith, † a bishop ought always to carry in his hand, and to have before his eyes.

The verse I have read to you, following immediately upon the salutation, begins the body of the epistle itself; and, like an ingenious and well-contrived perspective, gives us, from the very front, a fair prospect into the contents of the whole. It is, as it were, a kind of magical glass; in which the man not blind with ignorance, nor bleared with passion, may see distinctly the face of the primitive church, in that golden age of the Apostles; the platform of her government; the beautiful order of her hierarchy; the original, and derivation of her chief officers, and their subordination both to one another, and to Christ, the great Bishop of our souls, ‡ in the last resort; together with the manage and direction of the most important acts of the government, both in point of ordination and jurisdiction too. For here we have *Πρεσβυτέρους καὶ ἀ πόλιν*, elders, that is, bishops, (as shall be showed in due time) disposed of city by city, in every city one; these bishops both

* *Vide* D. Blondelli Pseudo Isidor.

† *De Doct. Christian.* l. 4. c. 16.

‡ *1 Pet.* ii. 25.

ordained and ordered, constituted and corrected, created and governed by Titus alone; and so he, in right of the premises, no other than *metropolitan, or archbishop there; the angel, or the arch-angel rather, of the whole church of Crete. If you ask, who fixed him the intelligence of so large an orbe? it was Paul himself, (you have that too in the text,) *For this cause left I thee in Crete.* If yet higher, your curiosity will needs see the derivation of St. Paul's power too; he opens his commission, verse 1, and spreads it before you, styling himself a servant of God, and an Apostle of Jesus Christ: one sent abroad into the world by his commission, acted, and assisted by his Spirit, to plant, and to govern churches after this scheme, and model. So that my text, like Homer's †symbolical chain, consists, you see, of many links; but the highest is tied to the foot of Jupiter's throne: or rather, like Jacob's mysterious ladder, the foot of it stands below in Bethel, the house of God, ‡*Ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ εἰς τὸν ἑβρανὸν*, the head of it is in Heaven, and God himself stands at the top of it, and leans § upon it, and keeps it firm; angels ascending and descending upon it in the intermediate degrees; the bishops

* *Vide* Reverend. Armachan. de Orig. Metropolis. p. 71, 72.

† Il. O.

‡ Gen. xviii. 12. Versic. Lxx.

§ Ib. v. 13. Vulg. Et Dominum innixum scalæ. Lxx. ἑπείκειτο ἐπ' αὐτῆς.

of the church, like those blessed ministering spirits, incessantly bringing down the commands of God to the church in their doctrine, and carrying up the prayers of the church before God's throne, in their holy offices and intercessions. So that, you see, this holy oil,* which without measure was shed upon the head of our great High Priest,† (all power being given to Him, both in heaven and earth,) runs down in full stream upon the beard, (for, †As my Father sent me, saith he to his disciples, even so send I you;) and so by, and through them, to their successors, holy bishops and presbyters, even down to the skirts of his garment: for in this comely and exquisite order we find it in my text—*For this cause I (Paul, an Apostle of Jesus Christ,) left thee (Titus) in Crete, that thou shouldest set in order (or, correct,) the things that are wanting, and ordain elders in every city, as I had appointed thee.*

In which words we have these three parts:—

First. The erection of a power in the person of Titus, a metropolitical power over the whole island of Crete; *I left thee in Crete.*

Secondly. The end of this institution, or the use and exercise of this power, in a double instance, *ἰδιορθεῖν, καὶ καθιστάναι*, to order, and to ordain; to correct and constitute; to make bishops,

* Psm. cxxxiii. 2.

† Matt. xxviii. 18.

‡ John, xx. 21.

and govern them, **Κρίσις καὶ χειροτονία*, as the Greek Scholia have it: 'For this cause—that thou shouldest set in order what was wanting, and ordain elders in every city.'

Thirdly. The limitation of all to apostolical pre-script and direction; both ordination and jurisdiction too, the whole office must be managed, '*Ὡς ἐγὼ σοι διατάξαμην*,' as I had appointed thee. These are the parts.

Of which that I may so speak, and you so hear, and all of us so remember, and so practise, that God's holy Name may be glorified, and we all built up in the knowledge of that truth, which is according unto Godliness; we beseech God the Father, in the Name of his Son Jesus Christ, to give us the assistance of his Holy Spirit.

And in these, and all other our supplications, let us always remember to pray for Christ's holy Catholic Church, i. e. for the whole congregation of Christian people, dispersed through the whole world; that it would please Almighty God to purge out of it all schism, error and heresy, and to unite all Christians in one holy bond of faith and charity; that so at length the happy day may draw upon us, in which all that do confess his Holy Name, may agree in the truth of his Holy word, and live in unity and Godly love. More

* Theophyl. in Hypoth.

especially let us pray for the churches of England, Scotland, and Ireland: that the God of Peace, who maketh men to be of one mind in a house, would make us all of one soul, and of one spirit, that again we may meet together, and praise Him with one heart and mouth, and worship Him with one accord in the beauty of holiness. To this end, I am to require you most especially to pray for the King's Most Excellent Majesty, our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the Grace of God, King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, and Supreme Governor of these his realms, and in all other his dominions and countries, over all persons, in all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal: That God would establish his throne in righteousness, and his seed to all generations. Also for our gracious Lady Mary the Queen-Mother; for the most illustrious Prince James, Duke of York; and for the whole Royal Family: that God would take them all into his care, and make them the instruments of his glory, and the good and welfare of these nations. Further, let us pray for the Ministers of God's Holy Word and Sacraments, as well Archbishops and Bishops, as other Pastors and Curates; for the Lords and others of his Majesty's most honourable Council; and for all the Nobility and Magistrates of the realm: That all and every of these, in their several callings, may serve truly and painfully to the glory of God, and the edifying, and the well governing of his

people, remembering the account that they must make. Let us also pray for the Universities of this land, Cambridge and Oxford: That God would water them with his grace, and still continue them the nurseries of religion and learning to the whole land. Let us pray for the whole Commons of this realm: That remembering at last from whence they are fallen, they may repent, and do the first works, living henceforth in faith and fear of God, in humble obedience to their King, and in brotherly charity one to another. Finally, let us praise God for all those that are already departed out of this life in the faith of Christ, and pray unto God we may have grace to direct our lives after their good examples; that, this life ended, we may be made partakers with them of the glorious resurrection in the life everlasting. For which, and for all other needful blessings, let us say together the Prayer of our Lord, who hath taught us to say, Our Father, &c.

For this Cause I left thee in Crete, &c.

The erecting of the power, that is the first; *I left thee in Crete*. Where we have these particulars: The original of this power, in *Ego*; the subject of it, in *Te, Ego Te*; the conveyance in *Ego reliqui*; and the extent, in *Reliqui Cretæ*, or in *Creta*.

I. *I left thee*; *I*, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, (ver. 1.) left thee mine: There is the source, and the stream; the original and the derivation of all; it

was from our Lord, by his Apostle : I did it, his commissioner.

(1.) And therefore, first, not a suffragan of St. Peter, as some of the Romish partizans would fain have it;* who, to serve the over-high pretences of that court, are not content to dogmatise, that St. Peter was the prince, and sovereign of the Apostles, and his very successors superior to the Apostles that survived him; and that, they being once all dead, there was never since any power in the church, but in succession to him, and by derivation from him; dare yet higher, and with strange confidence pronounce, that the Apostles themselves were all ordained by St. Peter, and he alone by Christ: And that, when the Holy Ghost said,† Separate me Barnabas and Saul, for the work whereunto I have called them; they were thereupon sent up to Jerusalem, to be ordained by St. Peter. Affirmations so very strange, that I know not what can be more; unless this be, that they should think them passable with us, upon the authority of ‡Petrus Comestor, the Scholastic historian, and those suspected §decretals of the false merchant I mentioned at the beginning. Whereas, for the imposition of hands upon Barnabas and Saul, (were it a blessing, or

* Suar. adv. fect. Angl. l. 3. c. 12. f. Bellarm. de R. Pont. l. 1. c. 11. f. c. 23. Magal. in I. Tim. Proëm. sect. 11. & 13.

† Acts, xiii. 2.

‡ Hist. Act. Ap. c. 70.

§ Anacleti, Felicis I. Inn. F.

were it * an ordination) it is plainly inferred, ver. 3, to have been performed upon the place by the persons mentioned, verse 1. And St. Paul, for his particular, in the front of every epistle, enters his protestation against all this, as if he had foreseen it; still qualifying himself † an Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God; ‡ an Apostle; not of men, nor by man, but § by the commandment of God our Saviour; and accordingly you may see him contesting it to the height, both against Peter and the rest, Gal. i. and ii. throughout,—That the Gospel he preached was not of man, the Apostleship he exercised was not from man: but the one by immediate revelation, the other by assignation from Heaven itself. So that, having received his mission thence, and his instructions too, he thought it unnecessary to confer with flesh and blood, to apply himself to any mortal man, for the enhancing of either. He went up indeed to Jerusalem to visit Peter three years after his conversion, and yet once || again fourteen years after, he returned thither, and had conference with James, and Cephas, and John; but these pillars added nothing to him; neither established his authority, nor advanced his know-

* As our church seems to have determined. See the Exhortation before the Litany in the Consecration of B. B.

† 2 Tim. i. 1.

‡ Gal. i. 1.

§ 1 Tim. Chap. i. v. 1. 12. 15, 16. 18. ii. 7.

|| Gal. Chap. ii. v. 1. 6. 9.

ledge: and Titus himself was present at the interview, and so an eye-witness, that in nothing he came behind the very chiefest Apostles; for they all gave him the right-hand of fellowship, far from exacting the right-hand of pre-eminence: and so Paul an Apostle of Jesus Christ, not a deputy of the apostolical college, much less a suffragan of St. Peter, or his legate, *a latere*, as was pretended. But,

(2.) Not a disciple of Gamaliel. For there is a disputer of this world, who having laid it down for a principle with himself (indeed his *πρῶτον Ψεῦδος*) that all pretence of ecclesiastical power, as from Christ, is but an imposture, is thereupon obliged to give such an account of the appearances of it in the New Testament, as may suit with this Postulatum: And accordingly, for the particular of imposition of hands for ordination of elders* will have it only in pursuance of a Jewish custom, which St. Paul learned at the feet of his master Gamaliel, under whom he commenced elder, before he was Christian, and thereupon, after, thought good to create his own disciples to the same dignity (according to † the law of those schools,) and Titus among the rest, whom he left in Crete, to do the like, and to constitute his scholars elders too, in all the cities where he should preach. A discourse so loose and inco-

* De Synod. lib. i. cap. 14. p. 569, &c.

† Page 571. Unusquisque ritè creatus potest Discipulos suos ritè creare.

herent, that it is not worth your while to stand by, and see it fall in pieces, which it would quickly do (were it not already done * to our hands) upon a gentle examination. I shall only remind you of what was said before upon the former particular, and so leave it in compromise to any indifferent; whether St. Paul the Apostle of Jesus Christ, who so stoutly refuseth to *releve* of St. Peter himself, or the rest of the Apostles, as owing his whole commission to Heaven alone, would yet acknowledge to hold it of R. Gamaliel, the unconverted Jew, as usher of his school, or graduate in a Rabbinical academy.

(3). (Yet further to vindicate ourselves) *An Apostle of Jesus Christ*, not a delegate of the civil magistrate. For † Suarez, the Spanish Jesuit, that he may have something to confute in the English sect (as he will needs call us), saith confidently, that the power of order with us is nothing else but a deputation of certain persons by the temporal magistrate, to do those acts which he himself much more might do; made indeed with some kind of ceremonies, but those esteemed arbitrary, and unnecessary to the effect, which would follow as well without them, by the king's sole deputation. A calumny, which the whole business of this day most solemnly refutes: a kind of a second Nag's-head fable, a fil of the

* See Dr. H. H. Letter of Resolut. &c. Quer. 5.

† Advers. Sect. Angl. lib. 3. cap. 8. num. 12.

same race, both sire and dam, begotten by the father of lies upon a slanderous tongue, and so sent post about the world, to tell false tidings of the English; as credible, as that our kings excommunicate, or Queen Elizabeth preached. Would they have been just, or ingenuous, they should have laid the brat at the physician's door, who was the father of it: not the beloved Physician, though his name comes nigh; (Erastus, but not *Ἀγαπῆς*;) no, his praise was not in the Gospel, but a physician in Geneva, learned, and eminent enough. It is remarkable that, in the same place, and about the same time (so unlucky an ascendant hath error and mistake upon some persons!) should three conceits be hatched concerning church-government, which, like three furies, have vexed the quiet of the church ever since. For the consistorial, and congregational pretences were twins of the same birth; though the younger served the elder, and, being much overpowered, sunk in the stream of time, till it appeared again in this unhappy age, amongst the ghosts of so many revived errors, that have escaped from their tombs to walk up and down and disturb the world. And, not long after, this physician too would needs step out of his own profession, to mistake in two other at once, policy and divinity, running a risk of setting ill-understanding betwixt them, had not abler and wiser heads than he stepped in, and so evenly cut the thread, so exactly stated the controversy, and asserted the

very due on either side, that there remains now no ground, either of jealousy among friends, or, one would think, of slander from enemies. And yet even some of our own too, (which we have reason more deeply to resent,) would needs bear the world in hand, when time was, that the claim of episcopal power, as from Christ and his Apostles, was an assault upon the right of our kings, and tended to the disherison of the crown. As if the calling might not stand by Divine right, and yet the adjuncts and appendages of it by human bounty: as if the office itself might not be from Christ, and yet the exercise of it only by, and under, the permission of pious kings: or, as if the church might not owe the keys of the kingdom of Heaven, both that of order and that of jurisdiction too (purely spiritual, I mean, and without any temporal effect), to the donation of Christ; and yet, at the same time, owe all their coactive power in the external regimen (which is one of the keys of the kingdoms of this world, for the enforcing of obedience by constraint) to the political sanction. These things thus clearly distinguished, I cannot see why we may not with some consequence infer the apostolical, and, at least, in consequence thereupon, the divine right of our ecclesiastical hierarchy, how harsh soever it sounds, either at Rome or Geneva; and though the hills about *Trent resounded loud with the

* *Vide* Hist. Concil. Trid. lib. 7.

echo of that noise, and stiff debate, which passed upon that argument within the walls of that council. However they like it on this side the hills or beyond, St. Paul stands firmly by us, and voucheth the grand charter of his Apostolate for all: *Me me, adsum qui fecit*—It was I, the Apostle of Jesus Christ, that left Titus to ordain Elders in Crete; and what *Κρησφύγετον* will be found for this argument? It was the Holy Ghost that made you bishops, saith the same Apostle* to the elders at Miletus; so that these are no Milesian fables, but † the words of truth and soberness, a part of the Holy and Divine *Πραξις*—*στολον*, the real acts and gestic of the Apostles of Christ; nay, the act and deed of Christ himself by his Apostle, according to that rule of the Hebrews, ‡ *Apostolus, cujusq. est, ut quisque*. And so much for the original of the power.

I go on (II) to the subject, and that is Titus: *Ego te*, I left thee.

(1.) Thee first, mine host, and of the whole church. For, when the Jews at Corinth § contradicted and blasphemed the doctrine delivered by St. Paul, he shook his raiment, and || departed into the house of one Justus, (so we read it after the Greek copies,) one that worshipped God, and

* Acts, xx. 38.

† Acts, xxvi. 25.

‡ של יחיו של אדם כמותו Talm. in Kidduschin. fol. 41. 2.

§ Acts, xviii. 6.

|| V. 7.

dwelt by the Synagogue; and *there he abode eighteen months. But the Syriac version saith, it was the house of Titus, (and so †St. Chrysostom seemeth, by his preface to this epistle, to have found it in some copies;) and the Vulgar Latin and Arabic, reconciling both, the house of Titus Justus, or of Titus the son of Justus. If you give credit to this tradition, thus fairly derived, it will return to this lesson—that no man serves God in vain; that none opens the doors of God's house, nor the doors of his own to receive God's church in, that loseth his reward. Obadiah, that secured and fed an hundred prophets in persecution, received a prophet's reward, and ‡ (though but a proselyte) was himself made one of the twelve. The house of Obed-Edom, the Gittite, and all that pertained to him was blessed, for the Ark of God's sake, that occasionally turned in thither. And Titus, a Gentile, who received St. Paul into his house, not only gains thereby the lights of faith, and the incomparable advantages of religion; but is himself introduced into the church, which is the house of God, and set amongst the princes there; being singled out to this special honour from amongst the many that attended St. Paul in his journeyings. Hear this, you noble and generous souls, who, in this time

* Acts, xviii. 11.

† Οἶμαι δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐν τῇ Πράξειν εἶναι μυσίαν. Τάχα καὶ Κορίνθιος ἦν εἰ μὴ τις ἕτερος ἀμώνυμος αὐτοῦ.

‡ Vide Munst. Vatabl. et alios in Obad.

of calamity, have spread your wings over the persecuted prophets of God, and had a church in your house when they made a stable of the church. Believe it, God and his church pay their quarters wherever they come, and there is not one of you shall miss of his reward.

2. *Thee*, who wert so exceedingly dear, so highly useful to me, *Titus my brother, †mine own son after the common faith; two very endearing titles: and then, so necessary to me, that ‡when I came to Troas, to preach Christ's Gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord, I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not Titus my brother; but taking my leave, went thence into Macedonia. Upon which place, with some others, § St. Jerome || hath founded his conjecture, that Titus was St. Paul's interpreter to the Grecians. For, though the Apostle understood the Greek language, and wrote it too elegantly enough, yet ¶ there might be something of uncouth and barbarous in his pronunciation, which rendered it not so smooth and passable to a common Greek ear (which Josephus also, though ** a spruce

* 2 Cor. ii. 12.

† Tit. i. 2.

‡ 2 Cor. ii. 12, 13.

§ 2 Cor. vii. 6.

|| Epist. 150. ad Hédib. qu. 11.

¶ Divinorum sensuum Majestatem digno non poterat Græci eloquii explicare sermone. S. Hieron. ibid. vide et Baron. tom. i. ann. 45, n. 32, &c.

** Photius. Καθαρός τὴν φράσιν, — καὶ ἐν ἰσχύει.

Greek writer, * complains of, as both his own, and the general infelicity of his nation). But, though Titus was so needful to St. Paul in this, or some such respect, and so dear and precious in many others, yet the Apostle most resolvedly leaves him behind in Crete; as he, who knew most cheerfully to sacrifice all his own advantages, and the tenderest and inmost of his affections to the benefit of Christ's church, and the interest of religion. Let us go, and do likewise.

3. But thirdly and principally; *Thee*, a single person; not a Consistory of Presbyters, or a Bench of Elders. But this observation, together with the next particular, (III.) the extent of this power, as it reacheth the whole island of Crete, I shall have occasion to resume by and by; and so pass on at present.

There is nothing behind of the first part of the text, but (IV.) the conveyance of the power couched, or supposed, in *Ego reliqui. I left thee*. A close conveyance, by a word, in which there may be much more understood than expressed; viz. A derivation, or transmission of power from St. Paul to Titus, enabling him for the discharge of that work he was intrusted with. *Reliquit vice suâ*; as Haymo† well. As if St. Paul had said, I left thee in Crete, my deputy, and vicegerent there, to water what I had planted; to build up

* Antiq. l. 20. c. ult. Τὴν δὲ περὶ τὴν προφορὰν ἀκρίβεια, πατρις ἐκάλυψε συνήθεια.

† In locum.

what I had founded; to perfect what I had begun. I left thee to reside in Crete, (as I besought Timothy to abide at Ephesus, *προσμεῖναι*,) to be resident there, as fixed and ordinary governor of that church, while I went on still to preach the Gospel in other regions, where the name of Christ had not been heard. In fine, for this cause was he left, that he should perform such special acts, (ordain elders and reform what was amiss,) and therefore certainly left commissioned, and authorized after the Apostolical guise, to do those acts, viz. by imposition of hands and episcopal ordination: which is a true gloss, though of a *pseudo Ambrose*,* *Titum Apostolus consecravit Episcopum*: and backed by Theophylact, and others amongst the Grecians, *Ἐπίσκοπος τῷ Κρήτης χειροτόνητο*.

But it will best appear what the power was in the conveyance, (and consequently what the conveyance itself,) by taking notice, what it was to be in the exercise of it: and so I go on to the second part of my text, in which we find it designed to a double act,—to order and to ordain; *Ἐπιδιορθῶν καὶ καθιστάναι*.

1. In the first there will be some variety. For *Ἐπιδιορθῶν*, being properly to †*correct*, or *make straight that which is crooked*; (not that which is wanting, to which it seems not to have so just a rapport;) and *τὰ λείποντα*, being, in the next notion, those things which are *wanting* (and, therefore,

* In Titum.

† Vide Sulteti Obs. in Tit. l. c. 2.

not so aptly said to be *corrected*, as *supplied* or *added*): For the according of the terms, I cannot see why the participle may not have as powerful influence upon the verb, (to qualify that,) as that upon the participle; and shall, therefore, make this advantage of the doubt, to take in the consideration of both senses, and suppose that Titus is here commissioned, both to supply what was wanting, and to correct what was amiss.

First, *To supply what was wanting*. And then the nerve and emphasis of the verb will lie in the preposition; Ἐπιδιόρθῶν, to do something additionally, and by way of supplement to what was done before, but was not sufficient. Τὰ ἑλλειποντα ἀναπληρῶσαι, as St. Chrysostom,* *to fill up the vacancies and defects* that were left, which probably were not a few in Crete, especially a church so lately founded, (but † the year before,) and in which St. Paul stayed so short a time, in which long works could not be brought about. Neither let any church, though of longer continuance, flatter and sooth up itself, with Laodicea,‡ as if it needed nothing. The ship of the church is never so perfectly rigged but something may be added. 'Tis seldom, or never, but some pin or other is lacking, even in God's Tabernacle, while it sojourns here below, just as in the material church; 'tis scarce known, but either the roof is open, or the

* Homil. 1.

† Vide Baron. Ann. 58.

‡ Apoc. 3. 17.

pavement uneven, the windows broken, or some part or other of the wall mouldering, and dropping away: so in the spiritual, either the light is not good, or the walking is not answerable; 'tis well if the foundation stands firm and sinks not; but the superstructions, most commonly, want something that must be supplied. And therefore, methinks, the inference is strong. There is need of a bishop in every church, that must * learn his office in his name, and look about him, be Ὁλος ὀφθαλμὸς, (as Isidore Peleusiote appositely); and, like a wise master builder, have a careful eye, ever awake, upon all parts, to see what is wanting, and to supply it. That is the first.

But secondly, *To correct what is amiss*; things that are faulty and defective, and want something, (sc. of their due rectitude and conformity to the rule;) for so perhaps the Τὰ λείποντα may signify Τὰ ἑλλειπόν, and Hesychius† shall warrant me that gloss. Or else Τὰ λεποτακῆντα, things that leave their rank, and start out of their place; and so to be reduced and set in order again. And of this sort also there was but too much in Crete. For, to say nothing of the evil beasts with the nimble tongues, and ‡slow bellies, we find also in this chapter Jewish leaven to be purged out, and as

* Isid. Pelus. lib. i. Ep. 149. Ἐπισκοποῦν αὐτὸν χερὶ, καὶ ὅλον, εἶναι ὀφθαλμὸν, πάντα ὁρᾶν, καὶ μηδὲν παραρῶντα.

† Hesych. Λεπὸν τὸ ἑλλειπὲς εἶναι. Lege λείπον, et ἑλλειπὲς.

‡ Tit. 1. 10.

some* have thought, gnostic impurity to be resisted, † unruly, and vain talkers, and deceivers, ‡ subverters of whole houses; teachers of things they ought not, for filthy lucre's sake; § men that profess to know God, but in works deny him, being abominable, disobedient, and to every good work reprobate. So that, for aught we see, they might well enough deserve the black character the Proverb brands them with, amongst the *Τρία Κάππα κάκιστα*, the three || very infamous nations that began with C, for such a superfluity of naughtiness. St. Paul here designs a proportionate corrective, and sends Titus and his elders amongst them, to bring them into better order, by a three-fold instrument, *Vita*, *Doctrina*, *Censura*; all in this epistle, and in this chapter.

1. *Vita* first, by the *example of his holy life*. ¶ In all things showing thyself *Τύπον καλῶν ἔργων*, a pattern of good works. For, as St. Ambrose** excellently, *In Episcopo vita formatur omnium*; the life of the prelate is, as it were, a form, or mould, in which the conversation of others is shaped and modelled: or, as †† Isidore Pelusiot conceits it, like a *seal well cut*, which stamps the common Christians under his care, as wax, with the like impressions. And therefore St. Paul, who well

* Dr. H. Hammond in c. 1. 9. 16. † V. 10. ‡ V. 11.

§ V. 16. || *Κατωπάδοκες, Κρηῆτες, Κίλικες*. ¶ Ch. ii. 7.

** Lib. 10. Epist. 82. ad Eccles. Vercel.

†† Lib. 1. Epist. 319. Εἰ τύπος ἱερὺς τῷ ποιμένι, ἀνάγκη τοῖς ἡθίσι αὐτῷ συνεκτυπῶσθαι τὸ ὑπόκοον, ὡς σημαίντῃ κηρῶ.

understood this, twice within two verses of my text, requires it a qualification in a bishop, that he be blameless, * *ἀνέγκλητος*, one that cannot be accused, which yet innocence itself, you know, may be; nay, but a bishop must be void of suspicion too, as well as crime. Aye, that's the way to set all right indeed: for so fair a copy, placed in so good a light, teacheth itself; and every one that runs by will read it, and strive to write after it.

2. But secondly, *Doctrina*; by *speaking the things that become sound doctrine*. † For a bishop must be able both ‡ to exhort and to convince the gainsayers: § In doctrine showing uncorruptness, gravity, sincerity, sound speech that cannot be condemned, that he, that is of the contrary part, may be ashamed, &c.

3. *Censura*, That must not be forgotten, as being chief in the eyes of the text. No; the garden of God must be weeded sometimes, or, like the sluggard's vineyard, || it will soon be overgrown with nettles and thorns. Even Christ's vine must be pruned too, or it will run out, and spend itself in fruitless luxury. The Lamps of the Temple will burn faint and dim, if they be not trimmed, and dressed, and snuffed now and then. And, therefore, though the Tables of the Law, and the Pot of Manna be in the Ark, yet it is not a

* *Inaccusabilis*: Cajetan.

† Ch. ii. 1.

‡ Ch. i. 9.

§ Ch. ii. 7, 8.

|| Prov. xxiv. 30, 31.

perfect emblem of the Church, unless the Rod of Aaron be there too: and, without jurisdiction and discipline, we shall quickly find the Word and Sacraments will not have so powerful an influence upon a loose and a debauched world. Epiphanius* observes, that Moses was sent into Egypt, ἰαβδὴ μόνη. Some while after, he instituted the Pass-over, and received the Law, and consecrated Aaron and his sons to the priesthood; but he carried the Rod of God with him in his hand. No bringing up the Israel of God out of Egypt without it. And it is that Rod, therefore, which St. Paul here puts into Titus's hand, when he bids him correct what is amiss in the text, and rebuke evil doers † sharply and severely, v. 11; and stop the mouths of such as teach what they ought not, v. 13. Nay, and rebuke them ‡ with all authority, not suffering his monitions to be slighted by any: Let no man contemn thee, Ch. 11. v. 15.

Nay, if *corrigas* will not serve the turn, be a word too low; St. Jerome, upon the place, and, after him, Cardinal Cajetan, have added a cubit to its stature, and advanced it into *super-corrigas*, which yet perhaps arrives not the full altitude of the Greek. For ἐπιδιορθῶν is a decompound, and, if ὀρθῶν be *to make straight, or right*, διορθῶν is thoroughly to do it, and ἐπιδιορθῶν to do it, not only exactly, but over and over again. St. Chrysostom and St. Jerome § both take notice of this emphasis,

* Contra Hæres. lib. i. c. 1. Contra Aerian.

† Ἀποτόμως.

‡ Μετὰ πάσης ἐκτεταγῆς.

§ In locum.

and state it thus; ‘That whereas St. Paul had corrected some things, and so far; Titus should go on where he left, and complete what he had begun; bringing them yet to another test, till they came forth, like gold, more than once tried in the furnace.’

An hint which will perhaps be too greedily caught at by those to whose advantage it was never intended. A sort of men, that are all for super-correctas, but it is still on the wrong side, and of that which is not amiss. The reformers of the world, and syndios of all Christendom; men but of yesterday, yet wiser and better than all the fathers, that over-correct, and over-reform every thing: correct Magnificat itself, before they be out of danger of the rest of the Proverb: correct, not the Cretans and their amisses, but Titus and his Elders, serving all antiquity, and patterns of primitive government, as * Procrustes did his guests, who still reduced them to the scantling of his beds. So these, either cutting them short, or forcing them out longer, till they apply to the just model they have fancied to themselves, and would impose upon others. Thus Titus must be screwed up into an extraordinary, and so a temporary officer, an Evangelist, or a secondary Apostle, (as Walo Messalinus, and others,) not a fixed and ordinary governor of the Church of Crete, lest that come cross to their designs: and on the other

* 'Αναγκάσας αὐτὸς ἀπαισῶν τοὺς κλιτῆρας. Plut. in Thesev.

side, the Elders of the Text must be degraded into common Presbyters, lest we should have bishops here of St. Paul's and Titus's own creation: with how little reason in either, we go on to consider in

II. The second act, to which this power is here designed, and that is *καθίσταται*, *to ordain Elders in every city*.

Concerning which Elders, whether of the first or second rank, I know well what variety of opinion hath past, even amongst my own mother's sons. Nor shall I be nice to acknowledge it; as counting it our advantage, that we have more than a single hypothesis to salve the phenomena, and some choice of answers, each of them sufficiently securing us from the contradiction of the gainsayers: to whose pretensions these Elders will be for ever useless, whether understood Bishops, or common Presbyters, always ordained, and governed, either by the Apostles themselves, or by bishops of their appointment, as they drew off. But, not to leave it wholly in the clouds, I will not doubt to profess mine own sense too, with due submission; that the Elders in the Text were very Bishops, appointed one for every city, and the suburbicarian region thereof.

1. For this is most agreeable, not only to the exposition of the Ancient Church, (the best comment, when all is done, upon doubtful places of Scripture.)

2. But to the context, also, which expressly

calls them Bishops in the seventh verse. Were it not for this, and what follows in the next particular, we were, perhaps, at liberty to leave the world at large in its general acception, as it takes in both orders, both useful in every city, and so both to be supplied by Titus, in which * Oecumenius hath gone before us, affirming, that Titus was left in Crete, *to ordain clerks in every city*. But we are determined: for, though at present I demand not, that Πρεσβύτερος, wherever it occurs in the New Testament, should signify a Bishop; yet, that Ἐπίσκοπος doth so, I shall not doubt to affirm, till I see the text produced that attributes it to some person, otherwise evinced to have been no more than a single Presbyter.

And thirdly, and lastly, most agreeable also to the text itself, and the distribution of these Presbyters by cities, the peculiar seat of Bishops, according to the scheme of the Ancient Church, and the method the blessed Apostles thought good to use in the planting and modelling of it. For, that they preached the Gospel not only in cities,† but in the countries adjoining; yet planted churches in cities still, and settled single persons their successors there, to govern both the cities and the regions round about, (from whence a city and a church come to be equipollent terms, even in the Apostolical Writings, and Πρεσβύτερος κατὰ

* Argum. in Tit. ἵνα καταστήσῃ κατὰ πόλεις κληρικούς.

† Ἡ γὰρ, vel ἡ περὶ χώρας. Act. xiii. 49. and xiv. 6, 7.

ἐκκλησίαν in the Acts* the same with Πρεσβύτεροι κατὰ πόλιν in the text;) and yet further, that they left the churches of inferior cities and their Bishops in dependance upon the metropolis, which were the chief according to the civil division, (and that the only true ground of the superiority of one church above another,) hath been rendered as manifest as any thing almost in the ecclesiastical antiquity, against all adversaries, (both those of the hills and those of the lake too,) by the learned and well placed labours of those excellent persons in both pages of the diptychs, whom I shall not need to name, since their own works praise them in the gate. Now, I would ask the question, If these be common Presbyters, why appropriated to cities? Were there to be none of this sort in the villages, or in the country about? Or, since limited to cities, why should we not pronounce them Bishops? the city being the Bishop's proper seat, and he the star of that orb, the angel and the intelligence of that sphere. A truth so visible, that Calvin, and Beza, and many others after them, (so far may persons otherwise of great learning be transported ἐν τῇ δαλύσει ὑποθήσει,) to avoid the inconvenience, were concerned to translate Κατὰ πόλιν here *oppidatim*, (Elders in every Town :) not, as some others, less interested persons, may perhaps be thought to have done, to gain the advantage of that distribu-

* Act. xiv. 24. and xvi. 4, 5.

tive termination, which no adverb from *Civitas*, or *Urbs*, could afford them; but,* I fear, for some other design perhaps, to make the interpretation of the text (a practice too usual with them and other) to lacquay it to the espoused opinions, and to serve the κυρία δόξα, and so to whip theology with grammar's rods; but so loosely bound up, that at the first stroke they fly in the air and prove ineffectual; every Alphabetarian knowing well, that the Latin of it is *Urbs*, or *Civitas*: and *Oppidum*, in the precise propriety of language (which ought in such cases to be kept), Κωμόπολις at the most, in middle state betwixt a city and a drop; and in the ancient glosses † no more than Πολίχιον, *civitatula* at the highest.

And now, I shall not take upon me as some have done, to number the cities under Titus's jurisdiction. It is true, in Homer's time Crete was ἑκατόμπολις, ‡ famous for its hundred cities: but in Ptolemy's age they arose not to half the number; and Pliny, having named about forty, saith plainly, that of the other sixty *memoria extat*, nothing remained but the memory. In the times of the Greek empire, there were about twenty suffragan bishops, under four archbishops, as Magnius§ reckons them up; but, at this day, under the Venetian, not half so many of either sort. So

* See Mr. Hooker's Preface.

† Glos. Philox et Cirilli.

‡ Centum urbium clara fama. Plin. lib. 4. cap. 12.

§ In Gregor. pag. 183. b.

variable are these proportions, according to the fate of cities, and the daily change of the civil partition; who would look now for the throne of a primate in Caer-Leon upon Uske? or rake in the ruins of Carthage for St. Cyprian's mitre? He that should undertake a pilgrimage to Crete, to visit Titus's metropolis, would in vain inquire for the once famous Gortyna, and not find so much of its dust together, as would suffice to write its name in. That renowned Septenary of Asia, of old not only episcopal, * but metropolitcal churches, where are they? Cities may fail, and bishops' sees with them: Stars have their vicissitudes; may rise, and set again: Candlesticks are moveable utensils, and may be carried from room to room; but *Κατὰ πόλιν* is the standing rule, and fails not; a city and a bishop, generally adequate to one another. For as on the one side, an universal bishop, with the whole world for his jurisdiction, is a proud pretence, and too vast for humanity to grasp; so on the other side, rural bishops too is a poor and a mean design, and not only retrieves the Italian Episcopelli, so scorned at Trent, but worse. As he divided the stream into so many rills, that it lost its name and being; so these, by a too minute division, would cantonize the dignity, and degrade it into nothing at the last; as the Roitelets, and petty kings of Ivedot, do but diminish majesty, and take it down into

* See the learned Primate's excellent Discourses of the Original of Metrop. and the Proconsular Asia.

contempt.* Οὐ δὲ ἐν ταῖς κώμαις, Οὐ δὲ ἐν ταῖς χώραις. *Non in vicis, aut villis, aut† modica civitate:* No bishops there,‡ lest they grow contemptible; so run the canons of the ancient church, both Greek and Latin. And therefore the twelfth Council of Toledo § unmitred one Convildus, formerly an abbot in a little village, and dissolved the bishopric, which || Bamba, the Gothic king, had violently procured to be erected there; and that by authority of this rule of the church, and the very *Κατὰ πόλιν* of my text,¶ which they actually plead in the front of their decree, to justify their proceedings.

Amongst these so many cities in Crete, Gortyna was then the civil metropolis, as Solinus,** who lived in that age, informs us, and in the next age, we are sure, the ecclesiastical metropolis too; there being still extant,†† in the Church Story, the inscription of an epistle that plainly infers it. For Dionysius, that renowned bishop of Corinth, who flourished about the middle of the second century, and stands so highly commended in Eusebius for his Catholic Epistles (seven of them being there mentioned) to several churches and

* Concil. Laodic. Sardic. Tolet. 12. † q. d. Non in oppido.

‡ Ne vilescat nomen Episcopi. § Ann. 716. || Or Veamba.

¶ Imprimis ex Epistola Pauli Tito Discipulo, ut Episcopos per civitates constituere debeat, præcepit, &c. Concil. Merlin. tom. i. p. 135. b.

** Cap. 17. Centum constipati Urbibus quarum principatus est penes Gorty.

†† Euseb. l. 4. cap. xy.

their bishops, or, as St. Jerome * hath it more distinctly, *Ad aliarum Urbium, et Provinciarum Episcopos*, (some of them being written to inferior cities and bishops, others to mother-cities, and their metropolitans, and so to whole provinces,) amongst the rest sent two into Crete, the one of the former sort to *Pinytus Gnossiae urbis Episcopus*, as St. Jerome, or as Eusebius,† to the Gnossians, and Pinytus, bishop of that diocese only: the other, of the latter sort, and in a different style,‡ to the Church about (or belonging to) Gortyna, together with the rest of the dioceses in Crete, and in it acknowledgeth Philip their bishop, that is, not only of that church of Gortyna, but of all those dioceses, (Ἐπίσκοπον αὐτῶν, not αὐτῆς,) whom therefore St. Jerome significantly qualifies *Episcopum Cretensem, hoc est urbis Gortynæ*, Bishop of Gortyna, *et eo nomine* of all Crete too. Enough to make evidence, that Gortyna was the metropolis of Crete, even in the Christian account, very early, and long before the Council of Nice, (whatever hath been pretended to the contrary,) and probably in the epoch of the text itself; since even then it was certainly such in the civil style, most confessedly the ground of the Christian establishment (for sure it was not chance, or lottery, that produced a perpetual

§ In Catalogo Script. Eccles.

† Πρὸς Κνωσίας καὶ τοὺς Πίνυτον τῆς παροικίας Ἐπίσκοπον.

‡ Τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ παροικίᾳ Γόρτυναι, ἅμα ταῖς λοιπαῖς κατὰ Κρήτην παροικίαις.

coincidence) both there, and elsewhere the world over.

And now, let me lead you up to the top of Mount Ida, the proudest height in Crete; from whence Geographers tell us, we may descry both seas, and see all the cities, like a crown, in circle about it. There let us make a stand a while, and look about us, and consider holy Titus, with those numerous plantations, and nurseries of primitive Christianity, distributed, as it were* *areolatim*, like so many distinct beds, and knots in the Eden of God, planted and watered, and drest by Apostolical hands, all under his care and custody. Consider him (by way of recollection) under the variety of circumstance, wherein the text hath hitherto presented him to our meditations, consider him a single person; no colleagues, no companions, no co-ordinates. For, as our Lord promised the keys, (and doubtless so gave as he had promised them,) not to a college, but to single persons,† *Tibi dabo—et quodcunque (tu) ligaveris*: So the Apostles, at the next remove; St. Paul here, I am sure, for one, intrusts all, not to communities and consistories, but to individuals; for so runs the style, *Ego Te-ut Tu sicut ego Tibi*, all personal, and particular. Consider him determined to a fixed and constant residence, left, and settled in Crete, the ordinary and perpetual governor of that church. For we ought to have more regard to reason and the true nature of things, than to

* Πρᾶσιαι ἀρᾶσιαι.

† Matth. xvi. 19.

pronounce him an extraordinary officer ; who, for aught appears, is impowered to none, but acts of ordinary, and continual importance to the church : and more reverence for the blessed Apostle, than to think he would issue a commission, full fraught with rules of perpetual use, to a temporary delegate, who was perhaps next day to be exauc- torated, and never to have any exercise of them. Consider him yet further invested with a pleni- tude and sufficiency of power (not only to preach, and baptise, and so to beget sons to God and the church, which is the Presbyter's, and, for aught I know, the whole of the Evangelist's office ; but also) both to ordain Elders in all the cities under him, and so to beget spiritual fathers too, as Epi- phanius * distinguisheth ; and then, (as in the old paternal dominion, they ruled whom they had begotten,) to govern and regulate whom he had thus ordained, even all the bishops of those nu- merous cities. Whence the question of our reve- rend and learned † Jewel most naturally pro- ceedeth, ' Having the government of so many Bishops, what may we call him but an Arch- bishop ?' (And I add) of so many cities, what but a Metropolitan ? I say, consider all this soberly and maturely, and you will not disavow me if I say, that whosoever shall drive us out of this Crete, thus strongly garrisoned by St. Paul and his Disciples, and slight and dismantle so many

* Contra Hæres. lib. 3. contr. Aërium.

† Apud Rev. Usserium.

strengths and fortresses of the episcopal cause as there were cities in that island, and extort out of our hands this great instance of so many bishops, ordained and governed by their own metropolitan, so high in the first age; will be a very Pyrgopolinices indeed,* *qui legiones Spiritu diffiat*, and deserve the surname of Creticus, better than Metellus the Roman, that subdued the island.

For our parts, we are not ashamed of our conformity to so primitive a pattern; nay, we glory in so handsome and innocent a syncretism: for we are not better than our fathers; nor wiser than the Apostles of Christ himself. And, had we been of their counsel, who not long since pretended to reform us according to the best examples, we might have bespoke them, as once St. Paul did those over hasty and unruly mariners (who would needs put to sea when sailing was dangerous, and thrive accordingly, being quickly forced to abandon the helm, and to let the ship † drive, being not able to bear up against the wind‡) *Ἔδει μὲν, ὧ ἄνδρες, μὴ ἀνάγεισθαι ἀπὸ τῆς Κρήτης.* ‘Sirs, you should not have parted from Crete (in the text), and so have gained § harm and disgrace.’ If really you be in quest of the best examples of modelling a church, you may certainly find here as fair and as pure ideas, and as well worth your imitation, as the more modern platform can

* Plaut. in Milite.

† Ver. 21.

† Act. xxvii. 15.

§ Ibid. τὴν ὕβριν καὶ τὴν ζημίαν.

afford you, which* I have reason to believe the famous author of it intended not at first a pattern to other churches, but an expedient to serve the present exigency of his own, in a juncture scarce capable of any thing better, and which, I am persuaded, the learnedest, and wisest, and most pious of his followers would gladly relinquish for something more perfect and primitive; would the necessities of their present condition (which have no law, but much of excuse for those that really lie under them) permit them the happiness of so blessed an exchange, which God in mercy send them.

And so much of the second act, to which the power is here designed, and that is the *ordaining of Elders*, together with the distribution of them *κατὰ πόλιν, In every city one.*

I have but three words to add of the first part of my text, and that was the limitation of these acts to the Apostle's prescription; all must be so done, even *as he had appointed*. So, in regard of the variety of the offices themselves, and their several subordinations; so in regard of the choice of the persons, and their requisite qualifications; and so, also, in regard of the rites, and ceremonies, and manner of ordaining them: still, *Ὡς ἰγὼ διατάξαμην. All, as I had appointed thee.*

And now, if any demand, where these *Διατάξεις*, these constitutions Apostolical, are to be found;

* See Mr. Hooker's Preface.

I shall not send them to Clemens's book, that bears that name, but to the Universal Practice of the Ancient Church, in which they are still in great part visible; and thence handed over to posterity by tradition and conformity of practice, and by degrees inserted into the canons of the old councils, as occasion was offered, and into the ordinals of several churches. Or, if a readier and more present answer be required, I know not where to design it you nearer at hand, or more full to your satisfaction, than by dismissing you, to attend the great action that is to follow. In which you will see all so grave and solemn, so pious and devout, so primitive and apostolical, and so exactly up to the level of the text, and the Ὡς ἐγὼ διατάξαμην of St. Paul here, that I know not where to point you out so pregnant and full a comment upon my text, nor what better amends to make you for my own failings upon it.

And yet, having thus hastily run it over, with all its parts and branches, (some few sands still remaining of that heap, the bounty of your patience allows me,) I will crave leave briefly to take a second view of it in the auditory itself, and read it over again in the face of the assembly. For the better part of it, your own thoughts have already prevented me; and every eye hath singled out our most Reverend Titus, γνήσιον τέκνον, a genuine son and successor of the Apostles, upon the very act of constituting Πρεσβυτέρους καὶ πτόλιν, more than a whole province of Elders at once: Men able to

abide, and pass with honour the dreadful test that follows upon my text, as being both for life blameless, sober, just, holy, temperate; and in doctrine sound, holding fast the faithful word, as they have been taught; notwithstanding all the discouragements they have met with, from the sad condition of our common mother.

But then for the rest; I wish it were not so easy a task, to find Crete in England, with all its *wants* and all its *amisses*. For, to say nothing of those more innocent, and less important resemblances, in which we symbolize; (both islands lying in a kind of * trigon betwixt three points, or promontories; both styled the Happy Islands by ancient writers, *Μαχαρίνηρος*, † and *Insulæ Fortunatæ*, ‡ for the temper of the air, and fertility of the soil; both denominated from those white and § chalky cliffs, which bound them on one side, || *Candia à Candidis*, as Albion *ab albis rupibus*, both famous for their just laws, and ours no less to be valued, than those of Rhadamanthus and Minos, (had we but the wisdom to comport ourselves to the obedience of them as we ought:) I say, to let all this pass, I wish we had not too much of Crete amongst us, whether morally considered, in regard of their vices, or historically, in regard of their imperfect condition.

* Magin. pag. 182. 38.

† Solin. cap. 17.

‡ Camd. Brit. pag. 3. ex Lycoph. Cassand.

§ Creta, ab Insula Creta, ubi melior est. Isidor. lib. 16. cap. 1.

|| Magin. pag. 182. 38.

I would not be mistaken, as one that delights to libel a whole nation at once (especially mine own); but St. Chrysostom hath dressed an apology for St. Paul in this particular, by distinguishing, * Οὐχ ὑβριστικῶς τῷτο ἤθελε, ἀλλὰ ἐρωτικῶς. He did it not to injure any, but out of kindness and pure love to reform them: just as our blessed Lord *μυρία ἰλοιδόρειτο*, saith the same Father, a thousand times reproached the Scribes and Pharisees; not because they had wronged him, but lest they should harm and destroy others. And so St. Paul, with the same affections about him, cries, † *O insensati Galatæ!* to one church: Are you such fools? And here,

Κρήτες ἀεὶ Ψεύσαι, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.‡

That poet was, I think, a prophet indeed, (otherwise than St. Paul meant him,) and sang of us too: and in that verse the present age may see its face, and blush. I appeal to your better observation, if we have not outvied the very Cretans themselves in the first particular; and in a worse kind too lied for God's sake, and § talked deceitfully for him. What pious frauds and holy cheats? What slandering the footsteps of God's anointed, when the interest was to blacken him? What false accusing of our brethren, aye, and of our fathers too? That we might devour the man

* In Tit. Hom. 1.

† Gal. iii. 1.

‡ Ver. 12.

§ Job. xiii. 7.

more righteous than ourselves? Pliny* hath observed it, *Nullum animal maleficum in Cretâ*; and Solinus† adds, *Nec ulla serpens*: but they should have excepted the inhabitants; for they were κακὰ Σηρία, (and ‡ this witness, I am sure, is true;) not only evil beasts, as we translate it, but venomous too: and I wish there were no other island could show vipers too many, that have eat out the bowels of their common mother, and flown in the face of their political father, without whose benigner influence their chill and benumbed fortunes had not warmth enough to raise them to so bold an attempt. It is unwillingly that I go on to the rest of that character; but your own experience shall justify me, if I say that the γαστήρ ἀργαῖ that remains hath been since exemplified in some other sense; and our idleness, and fulness of bread, those sins of Sodom, have, I fear, long since, proclaimed it to our faces. And now I cannot wonder, if it be observed from the records of history, (as § Grotius assures us, who knew them well,) that the Cretans were (and I wish there were no other such) a mutinous and a seditious people; and had but too much need to be put in mind by Titus, to be subject to principalities and powers, and to obey magistrates: For || the men of Shechem eat and drink, and (then most naturally go on to) curse Abimelech; (aye, and

* Lib. 8. cap. 58.

† Cap. 17.

‡ Ver. 13.

§ In Tit. iii. 1.

|| Jud. ix. 27.

David, they would have done, had they lived in his time, and the flagon held out) for when our bellies and our heads are full, then we be to our governors; and wealth, and ease, and having nothing to do, make us ripe for any thing that is evil. There were, amongst the new converts of Crete, some false brethren * of the circumcision; for the stopping of whose mouths, as some have thought, and St. Chrysostom amongst the rest, St. Paul in chief designed this epistle. And I should be glad to be assured, that there are not some amongst us, who, though they love not to bleed, yet, I am afraid, are too prone to Judaize in some other instance, and to retrieve some other part of the Mosaical Pædagogues, which, perhaps, suits no better with that † liberty, to which Christ our Lord hath called us, and in which we ought to stand fast. It is with much reluctance (could I baulk it so full in my way) that I show you the Cretan labyrinth, that not long since, I am sure, was amongst us (God grant it be not still), that inextricable and endless maze of errors and heresies, that every day opened itself into new paths and alleys: dividing, and subdividing into never ending mistakes, till they had abased, and almost destroyed religion with abominable heterogeneous mixtures, and left the little semblance of Christianity was left amongst them, an hideous monster, or Minotaur, *Semibovémque virum, Semivirumque*

* Jud. ix. v. 10.

† Gal. v. 1.

bovem:—Jerusalem and Rome, party *per pale*; with Geneva and Cracovia, if you will have it quarterly; aye, and Mecca too, I fear, in chief, to embellish the scutcheon.

But, is there no Theseus, no generous Hero, to attack this monster? No courteous and charitable Ariadne that will lend a clue, and help us to disentangle the ruffled scain, and to evade these perplexed wanderings? Hath our Crete no Dictamnus in it to expel the arrow which so long hath galled our sides? No counter-poison for so many mischiefs? Or rather, in the prophetic scheme, *Is there no balm in Gilead? Is there no physician there? Yes, there is; and, therefore, let us hope well of the healing of the wounds of the daughter of our people, since they are under the cure of those very hands, upon which God hath entailed a miraculous gift of healing, as if it were on purpose to raise up our hopes into some confidence that we shall owe one day to those sacred hands, next under God, the healing of the Church's and the people's evils, as well as of the king's. Blessed for ever be that God who hath restored us such a gracious sovereign, to be the † repairer of the breach, and the nursing father of his church: and hath put it into the king's heart to appoint Titus, as this day, to ordain Elders for every city, to supply all that is wanting, and to correct whatever is amiss. Blessed are our eyes, for they see

* Jer. viii. 22.

† Isa. lviii. 12.

that which many a righteous man (more righteous than we) desired so much to see, and hath not seen it. And blessed be this day,* (let God regard it from above, and a more than common light shine upon it!) in which we see the Phoenix arising from her funeral pile, and taking wing again; our Holy Mother, the Church, standing up from the dust and ruins in which she sate so long, taking † beauty again for ashes, and the garments of praise for the spirit of heaviness; remounting the episcopal throne, bearing the keys of the kingdom of Heaven with her, and armed (we hope) with the rod of discipline; her hands spread abroad, to bless, and to ordain, to confirm the weak, and to reconcile the penitent; her breasts flowing with the sincere milk of the word; and girt with a golden girdle under the paps, tying up all by a meet limitation and restriction to primitive patterns, and prescripts Apostolical. A sight so venerable and august, that, methinks, it should at once strike love and fear into every beholder, and an awful veneration. I may confidently say it. It was never well with us, since we strayed from the due reverence we ought to Heaven and her; and it is strange we should no sooner observe it, but run a maddening after other lovers, that ruined us, till God ‡ hedged in our way with thorns, that we could no longer find them, and then we said, I will go, and return to

* Job. iii. 4.

† Isa. lxi. 3.

‡ Hos. ii. 6, 7.

my former husband; for then was it better with me than now.

Well; blest be the mercies of God, we are at last returned, and Titus is come back into Crete; and there are Elders ordaining for every city. But, *hic Rhodus, hic Saltus*. Reverend father, this is your Crete, adorn it as you can. The province is hard, and the task weighty and formidable, even to an angel's shoulders. That we mistake not, Titus was not left behind in Crete to take his ease, or to sleep out the storm which soon after overtook St. Paul at sea; he might well expect a worse at land (*naufragium terrestre*) and a more tempestuous Euroclydon. Believe it, a bishop's robe is * *Tunica molesta* (as the † martyr's pitched coat was called of old), and sits, perhaps, more uneasy upon the shoulders. The mitre is not † *Ὅρεα γαλήνη*, to render invisible or invulnerable; but rather exposeth to enemies. The rotchet and the surplice, emblems of innocence indeed, but marks of envy too: and it is in those whites, that malice sticks all her darts. And, therefore, St. Paul was fain to intreat Timothy into this dignity; ‡ *For this cause besought I thee, to abide at Ephesus*: for there were beasts to be fought with there; and the Apostle had tried them, § both tooth and paw. So that I cannot wonder if our Bishops say, *nolo episcopari*, in good earnest; and

* *Tunicâ punire molestâ*; Juvenal. Sat. 8.

† Vide Baron. Tom. 1. Ann. 66. n. 4.

‡ 1 Tim. i. 3.

§ 1 Cor. xv. 32.

if any of our * Zarahs thrust forth a hasty hand, and be laid hold on, and the scarlet thread cast about his finger, it is not strange if he draw back his hand, and refuse the primogeniture ; choosing rather to lye hid in obscurity, *quàm vincitus purpurâ progredi*, as the great Cardinal † wittily alludes. As in Crete new founded, so in England new restored, there must needs be many things wanting, and much amiss, not so easily to be supplied or amended.

When the Lord turned again the captivity of Sion, they made their thankful acknowledgments, and said in the Psalm, ‡ The Lord hath done great things for us already, whereof we will be glad. But then it follows immediately in the next verse, § Turn again our captivity, O Lord, as the rivers in the south. It seems their captivity (I am sure ours) is still to turn again, even after it is returned. For there are relics of it still behind, and the sad effects remain, (an age will hardly be able to efface them ;) and, which is the saddest of all, we are still, I fear, in captivity to the same sins that occasioned that ; and they are able to bring upon us ten thousand captivities, worse than the former. Plainly, there are riddles in our condition, (and whose heifer shall we plow with || to unfold them ?) Returned and not returned : Restored, and yet not so fully restored :

* Genes. xxxviii. 28, 29.

† Baron. Epist. ad Papam Clem. viii. T. 7.

‡ Psal. cxxvi. 3.

§ Ver. 4.

|| Judg. xiv. 18.

—in fine, with them in the Psalm, * We are like to them that dream. With St. Peter, † the good Angel hath roused us, indeed, and our chains are fallen off; we have bound on our sandals, and begin to find our legs again; and we are past the first and the second ward; but, methinks, the iron gate that leads to the city is not over apt to open to us of its own accord, so that we wist not well, if it be true and real, that is done by the Angel; still apt to think we see a vision; still like to them that dream. We have Jerusalem (it is true) and the Hill of Sion in our eyes: yet many look back to Babel, and multitudes sit captives still by those waters, increasing them with their tears. If any have taken down their harps from those willows, they are not strung, nor well in tune; and we scarce find how to sing the Lord's songs, even in our own land.

And, therefore, let me advise you now, in the close of all; give not over, but ply your devotions still; and whenever you sing *in convertendo Dominus*, in the midst of those doxologies, forget not to insert one versicle of petition, *Converte, Domine, converte*: turn again what remains of our captivity, and perfect our faint beginnings. Aye, that's the way, if we would succeed; *Vota dabunt, quæ bella negârunt*. For God will hear the prayers of his church, especially for his church; as he did those of David, Psal. cxxxii. ‡ Let thy priests be

* Psal. cxxvi. 1.

† Act. xii. 7, &c.

‡ Ver. 9.

clothed with righteousness, that is the petition: and what saith the answer of God a few verses after. * (I myself) will clothe her priests—(with righteousness? Aye, and) with salvation (too)—Let the saints shout for joy, saith the Psalmist: her saints, saith God, shall shout aloud for joy: so that there is more granted in both parts than was asked. St. Paul knew well that this was the method; and, therefore, before he took forth his son Titus, the great lesson of my text, he first imparts his Apostolical benediction, † ‘To Titus, mine own son, grace, and mercy, and peace from God the father, and the Lord Jesus Christ, our Saviour.’ St. Chrysostom and Theophylact have observed it to my hand, that he bestows upon so great a bishop the same common blessing that he is wont to give to all, (Τοῖς πολλοῖς, καὶ τοῖς ἰδιώταις,) grace, and mercy, and peace: aye, and no man, as they go on, hath more need of it than he. Not of grace; for who hath more burthens to bear? more difficulties to go through with? Not of mercy; for who in greater danger of offending either God or man? Not of peace; having so many enemies on all sides, and so many troubles of every sort. Only ‡ St. Jerome adds, that here is no *multipliciter*, as in other § apprecations. Common Christians may have their peace multiplied. Peace within, and peace without; peace with God, and peace with men, too; but Titus’s

* Act. xii. v. 16.

† Ver. 4.

‡ In locum.

§ 1 Pet. i. 2. 2 Pet. i. 2.

peace is *sine multiplicatione*. The bishops, and governors of the church must look for none, but peace with Heaven and their own consciences; (and for that single pearl, * like wise merchants, they sell all that they have;) as for the rest, ἔξωθεν μάχαι, † that is their lot, and that is their motto too: they must look for *fightings without*. St. Paul, in that divine valedictory to the bishops of the province of Ephesus, (Act. xx.) though, as he saith, for the space of three years together he had not ceased to warn every one of them, night and day, with tears, (as knowing well both the burthen and the danger they stood under;) yet (a tender affection having never said enough) he resumes the argument, (verse 8.) ‘Take heed to yourselves, and to all the flock; for I know, that, after my departing, shall grievous wolves enter in amongst you (Λύκοι βαρεῖς, he had almost said Λυκάνθρωποι, ‡ mankind wolves,) that will neither spare the flock nor you; but, by a witty and compendious malice, attack the shepherd first, that the sheep may be scattered, and so gleaned up at leisure. And, therefore, take heed to yourselves in the first place, in whose welfare that of the flock is so closely bound up.’ And yet, after all these caveats, and very seasonable advertisements, he cannot yet believe them safe, unless he leaves them under a better guard than his or their own: and, therefore, in fine, he kneels down and prays

* Matt. xiii. 46.

† 2 Cor. vii. 5.

‡ Weet-Wolves, Loups-garons.

with them, and for them all, recommending them to God and to the word of his grace. And I know not where better to leave you, than in the practice and actual exercise of a duty so fairly recommended; and shall, therefore, desire you to turn your wearied eyes from me and lift them up to Heaven, (from whence every good and perfect gift descends,) to seek from thence the smoothing of all difficulties, the solving of all doubts, the calming of all animosities, and the uniting of all affections: and to beg of that Father of Mercies, and God of all Consolations, that he will (every day more and more) turn again our captivity, like the rivers in the south; that they who sow in tears may reap in joy: that he would send forth his good spirit to move upon the waters of our Massah and Meribah, to digest that chaos and confusion, and strife of opinions into one beautiful and harmonious composure; and, finally, that he, who, by the hand of his holy Apostle, founded this Church of Crete in Titus and his Elders, in a meet and decent imparity and subordination, would maintain his own ordinance amongst us also, and justify his institutions to the utmost against all gainsayers; that the Rod of Aaron may again bud and blossom, and bring forth fruit amongst us; that his Urim and his Thummin may be with his holy ones; that he would bless their substance, and accept the work of their hands, and smite through the loins of them that hate them, that they rise not again: that so there may

· never want a succession of holy bishops and priests to shine as lights in the world, holding forth the word of life; till we all come in the unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto that perfection and fulness of the everlasting kingdom: to the which, God in mercy bring us all, through the merits of his dear Son. To which most blessed Father and Son, with God the Holy Ghost, be ascribed by all the creatures in Heaven and Earth, blessing, honour, glory, and power, both now and for evermore. AMEN.

· *Μόνῃ Θεῷ δόξα.*



LEX IGNEA:

OR,

THE SCHOOL OF RIGHTEOUSNESS.

A SERMON

PREACHED BEFORE THE KING, OCT. 10TH, 1666, AT
THE SOLEMN FAST APPOINTED FOR THE LATE
FIRE IN LONDON.

— *When thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the
World will learn Righteousness.*—Isaiah xxvi. ver. 9.

THIS chapter with the two next before, and that which follows, are all four parts of the same prophetic sermon, (as appears by those words so often repeated in them, *In that day*, fixing and determining all to the same epoch and period of time,) belong all to the same subject matter, *sc.* the destruction of Judah and Jerusalem, whether by the Babylonians, or Romans, or both. So that the earth (or as we may rather translate, the land, or the country) wasted, and utterly spoiled and turned upside down, Chap. xxiv. ver. 1 and 3, is doubtless the land of Jewry: and the world that languisheth, and fadeth away, ver. 4. of that chapter, not much wider; that, and the neighbouring regions, with whom the Jews had com-

merce and intercourse of peace and war, Moab, and Egypt and Babylon, in a word, the Jewish world;* (for so both the Hebrew and Greek words usually translated the Earth and the World, are often in Scripture-language contracted and limited by the matter in hand): and, consequently, the City of Confusion, which is broken down, a city turned chaos again, as the Hebrew imports, Chap. xxiv. 10;—the city turned into a heap, or a ruin; nay, *in tumulum*, as the vulgar Latin, or *τῆς χῶμας*, as LXX. translate it, into one great sepulchre to itself, buried in its own rubbish, Chap. xxv. 2;—the lofty city laid low, even to the ground, and abased in the very dust, Chap. xxvi. 5;—the city desolate and forsaken, and left wilderness and desert all over, Chap. xxvii. 10. are but so many variations of the phrase, and signify all the same thing, the burning of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, or Titus, or (as some will have it) by both.

This sad devastation the Prophet first beholds *in speculo prophetico*, sees it from far in his prophetic telescope, as clearly and distinctly as if it were before his eyes, and describes it here and there the whole sermon throughout, but chiefly, Chap. xxiv. in so lofty a language, that many have mistaken it for the end of the world, and the consummation of all things. But then, to sweeten so sad a theme, he assures them, it shall

* תבל & ארץ : οἰκουμένη & γῆ

not be a Πανωλεθρία, God will not make a final end now: no, 'a remnant shall be left, as the shaking of an olive-tree, and as the gleaning grapes, when the vintage is done;' Chap. xxiv. 13. Nor shall they be only preserved, but restored too: 'The Lord God will in time wipe away every tear from off all faces, and at last swallow up this death too in victory;' Chap. xxv. 8. He will turn their captivities, and rebuild their city and their temple too; and all this shall be as it were * Life from the dead, as the Apostle calls it, so miraculous a re-establishment, at a juncture so improbable, when they are destroyed out of all ken of recovery, that it shall be a kind of resurrection; and so like the great one, that it is described † in the very proper phrases of that, both by the other prophets and by ours too a little below the text, ‡ 'Thy dead shall live again; my dead bodies shall arise: Awake and sing, ye that dwell in the dust, &c.' And then (which is of nearest concern to us, and to our present business) the Prophet directs the remnant that should escape how to behave themselves under so great a desolation; and he contrives his directions into a threefold song (that they may be the better remarked and remembered) tuned and fitted to the three great moments of the event.

The first, to the time of the ruin itself, Chap. xxiv. where, having set before their eyes the sad

* Rom. xi. 17.

† Ezek. xxxvii. Dan. xii.

‡ Ver. 19.

prospect of the holy city, and house of God in flames; When thus it shall be in the midst of the land, saith he, there shall be a remnant, and they shall lift up their voice, and sing for the Majesty of the Lord, saying, Glorify ye the Lord in the fires, (verse 15.) And this is שִׁיר הַתְּהִלָּה a song of praise.

The second, is שִׁיר מַעֲלוֹת a song of degrees or ascensions, fitted to the time of their return, when all shall be restored and rebuilt again; and that we have, Chap. xxvii. 2. ‘In that day sing ye unto her; A vineyard of red wine: I the Lord do keep it; I will water it every moment; lest any hurt it, I will keep it night and day.’

The third, (of which my text is a principal strain,) belongs to the whole middle interval between the ruin and the restoration, in this twenty-sixth Chapter. ‘In that day shall this Song be sung in the land of Judah: We have a strong city; Salvation will God appoint for walls and bulwarks, &c.’ As if he had said, though our city be ruined, yet God is still our dwelling place; our fortresses dismantled, and thrown down, but salvation will he appoint us for walls and bulwarks; our temples in the dust, but God will be to us himself *as a little sanctuary. And this is שִׁיר מִשְׁכֵּל a song to give instruction, teaching them, and in them us, how to demean ourselves while the calamity lies upon us; sc. to make God our Refuge, ver. 4; to wait for him in the way of his

* Ezek. xi. 16.

Judgments, ver. 8.—and in this, ver. 9. earnestly to desire him from the very soul in the night (in the darkest and blackest of the affliction,) to seek him early, when it begins to dawn towards a better condition; and, in the mean time, as it is in the text, to improve all this severe discipline, as he intends it, for the advancing us in the knowledge of Him, and of ourselves, and of our whole duty; *For when thy Judgments are in the Earth, the Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness.*

A text, you see, that supposeth judgments in the earth, or upon a land, (as its occasions) and so suitable to our sad condition: a text, too, that proposeth our learning as its end and design, and so suitable (one would think) to our inclination too. The character and genius of the age we live in is learned: the pretence at this day so high, and so universal, that he is nobody now, who hath not a new system of the world, a new hypothesis in nature, a new model of government, a new scheme of God's decrees, and the greatest depths in theology. We are many of us acute philosophers (that must not be disputed us); most of us grand politics and statesmen too; all of us (without exception) deep divines: — will needs be wiser than our neighbours, but however wiser than our teachers and governors, if not wiser than God himself. A kind of moral rickets, that swells and puffs up the head, while the whole inner man of the heart wastes and dwindles. For

like the *silly women, disciples to the old Gnostics, while we are thus ever learning, (pretending to great heights and proficiencies) we come never to the knowledge of the truth (the Truth which is according unto Godliness): in fine, amongst so many learners, they are but few that learn righteousness:—And, therefore, God himself here opens us a school; erects a severe discipline in the text; brings forth his *ferulas* when nothing else will serve the turn. For he hath indeed four schools, or rather four distinct forms and classes in the same great school of righteousness; the last only (that of his judgments) expressed in the text, but the rest too supposed at least, or covertly implied.

For whether we look upon the latter clause of the proposition, *The Inhabitants of the World will learn*,—we find ourselves there under a double formality; as learners, and as inhabitants. As learners first, and so endued with faculties of reason; powers of a soul capable of learning what is to be learned; stamped and possessed with first principles, and common notions, which, deeply searched and duly improved and cultivated, might teach us much of righteousness: and this is *Schola Cordis in domo interiori*, the school of the heart, God's first school in the little world within us. Secondly, as inhabitants of the great world, which is God's school too, as well as his temple, full of doctrines and instructions; *Schola Orbis*, in which He takes us forth continual lessons of righteous-

* 2 Tim. iii. 6, 7.

ness.—*Seque ipsum inculcat, et offert, ut bene cognosci possit*; and that both from the natural world and from the political, whether *Schola Regni*, or *Schola Ecclesiæ*. Or, if we return to the former branch of the text, *When thy Judgments are in the Earth*. This *when they are*, supposeth another time, when they *are not* in the earth, and *that time is the time of love (as the Prophet speaks), the season of mercy. So that, thirdly, here is *Schola Misericordiarum*, the school of God's tender mercies inviting us, gently leading, and †drawing us with the cords of a man, with the bands of love. And lastly, when nothing else will serve, here is *Schola Judiciorum*, the school of God's severe Judgments, driving us to repentance, and compelling us to come in and learn righteousness. A provision (you see) every way sufficient, and abundant for our learning, were not we wanting to ourselves.

But alas! we may run by the text, and easily read in it these three things, as so many very natural deductions and emanations from it. First, our own ignorance and stupidity; ‡Born like a wild ass's colt, as Zophar speaks; and then to our natural, we add affected ignorance too: so that we are much to seek, and to learn righteousness it must be taught us. Secondly, God's infinite and inexpressible grace and mercy to us; that when we had blurred the original, defaced the first traces of righteousness upon our souls,

* Ezek. xvi. 8.

† Hos. xi. 4.

‡ Job. xi. 1.

He was pleased to provide expedients to teach it us again the second time, that we might be *renewed unto knowledge after the image of Him that created us in righteousness, as the Apostle speaks. And thirdly, our indocible and unteachable humour, our foul and shameful non-proficiency under so plentiful a grace. For though the text speaks of our learning righteousness, when God's judgments are upon us; yet (if the appearances of the world abroad suggested nothing to the contrary) it is introduced here in the text too, as the effect of the last form in God's school, in exclusion of all the former as ineffectual; his utmost method not to be used but at a pinch, when all the rest are baffled, and prove improsperous upon us. And then it is expressed in the original, and learned versions, with so many limitations and abatements (as we shall see by and by), that we may well give it up as the sum and upshot of all, that our All-merciful God omits no means or methods of our improvement; but we (supinely negligent, and prodigiously stubborn as we are) render them all ineffectual.

That we may do so no longer, but rather make good the profession, with which we have dared to appear this day before God, of humbling ourselves under his Almighty Hand; let us, before we pass on any further, lift up our hands and our hearts to Him in the Heavens, beseeching him by the power of his mighty Grace so to sanc-

* Col. iii. 10. Ephes. iv. 24.

tify to us all, both the sense of his present judgment, and all our meditations and discourses thereupon, that by all we may be promoted in learning righteousness.

The Inhabitants of the World will learn Righteousness or Justice: What is that? Is there such a thing in the world? Or is it a name only, and a glorious pretence? Is it not only another word for interest or utility, and so nothing just but what is profitable; *Carneades's infamous assertion retrieved and owned with open face by Christians? Is it not the taking of a party, or the espousing of a faction, and appearing for it with heat and animosity; and a savage condemning and destroying all that are not of it? Is it not the profession to believe such a system of opinions, what life soever is consequent thereupon? An airy invisible righteousness, that never embodies or appears in our actions, but hovers in the clouds, in speculations and fancies, where no man can find it?

The truth is, there is no piece of unrighteousness more common in the world than thus to weigh justice itself in an unjust balance; while every one contrives his hypothesis, so as to salve the phænomena, so declares his notion, as may best suit and comport with his own unrighteous practices. But the righteousness we are to learn in God's school, must not be a self-chosen righteousness: we must not pay God our Sovereign the tribute of our obedience in coin of our own stamp-

* V. Lactant. lib. v.

ing; it must be such as will abide the touchstone of his Word, and the balance of his Sanctuary. To make short, righteousness or justice, though elsewhere a single virtue, yet here it is virtually all:—Συλλαβὴν πᾶσ' ἀρετήσι, and, said the Prophet, and the philosopher after him, 'Οὐ μέρος ἀρετῆς, ἀλλ' ὅλη ἀρετή ἐστίν, not a part, but all virtue: and so often, both in Scripture and the Fathers, comprehensively all religion, the whole duty of man,* ἡ τῶν ἐπισλῶν ἐκπλήρωσις, saith St. Chrysostom: *Omnes Virtutum species uno Justitiæ nomine*, saith St. Jerome. Not a particular star, nor a single constellation, but a whole heaven of virtues, an entire globe of moral and Christian perfections; an universal rectitude of the will, conforming us in all points to God's righteous law, the † rule of our righteousness, or if you will in two words, it is *Suum cuique*, to give every one his due; *Suum Deo* first, and then *Suum proximo*; give God his due, and your neighbour too: these are the integral parts of it. So that righteousness, as the great rule of it, hath two tables, or, if you will, two hemispheres, the upper and the nether: both so vast, that we cannot measure them in a span (the span of time allotted me;) I shall therefore contract them to the occasion, and give you only some of those particular lessons of righteousness, which this present judgment of God upon our land seems most clearly to take us forth, both into relation to God himself, and to our neighbours; and then

* Theogn. Ethic v.

† Hom. 12. in St. Matth.

call you and myself to a serious scrutiny, how well we have learned them, and so an end.

And first, we begin (as we ought) in giving God his due; in rendering to God the things that are God's. To limit this wide universality too, and render it more proper and peculiar, we may reduce all to that first of Isaiah's three Songs mentioned at the beginning, **Glorify ye the Lord in the Fires*; giving him upon this sad occasion the glory of that great Trinity of his Attributes the Glory of his Power and Majesty; the Glory of his Justice and Equity; the Glory of his Goodness and Mercy.

Give him the Glory of his Power and Greatness; which the Prophet calls 'Singing for the Majesty of the Lord,' Chap. xxiv. 15. or 'Beholding the Majesty of the Lord, when his hand is lifted up,' in the verse after my text. How great and glorious our God is, who is in himself incomprehensible, appears best by the glorious greatness of his works. If he builds, it is a world, heaven and earth, and the fulness of both. If he gives, it is his only Son out of his bosom, the brightness of his glory, and the express image of his person. If he rewards, it is a crown, it is a whole heaven of glories. If he be angry, he sends a deluge; opens the cataracts of heaven above, and breaks up the fountains of the great deep below, and pours forth whole floods of vengeance: † Or else he rains down hell out of heaven, and in a mo-

* Chap. xxiv. 15.

† Salvian.

ment turns a land like a garden of God into a dead sea, and a lake of brimstone. If he discover himself by any overt expression of his power, though the intention be mere mercy and loving kindness, mortality shrinks from it, and cannot bear it. When his glory descends on Mount Sinai, the people remove, and stand afar off, and—* ‘Let not God speak with us (say they) lest we die’: and † ‘Depart from me, O Lord,’ saith St. Peter, amazed at that miraculous draught of fishes. How much more should the inhabitants of the world tremble before him, when his great and sore judgments are in the earth: ‡ Tremble, thou earth, at the presence of God (saith the Psalmist) even when he improves the hard rock into a springing well: much more when § a fruitful land he turns into barrenness, or a stately city into ashes, for the wickedness of them that dwell therein. || I am horribly afraid, saith David, for the ungodly that forsake thy law; and ¶ I exceedingly fear and quake, said Moses, at the giving of it: but when our Lord shall come again to require it, ** The powers of Heaven shall be shaken too; the Angels themselves, (as St. Chrysostom interprets) though pure and innocent creatures, shall tremble (θρῆνῃσι) †† to see the severity of that judgment. How much rather ought we, wretched creatures that we are, conscious to

* Ex. xx. 18, 19.

† Luc. v. ii.

‡ Psm. cxiv. 7, 8.

§ Psm. cvii. 34.

|| Psm. cxix. 53.

¶ Hebr. xii. 21.

** Matt. xxiv. 29.

†† Hom. 77. in Matth.

ourselves of dust and sin, to tremble and quake at the wrath of this dread Lord of the universe; at whose voice alone, the great emperor Caligula* runs under the bed; and the mighty Belshazzar's† loins are loosed, and his knees knock one against another, when God but writes bitter things against him on the wall.

It were a vain affectation, to attempt a description of the greatness of our late horrible devastation. This were to be *Ambitiosus in malis*, to chew over all our wormwood and our gall again: this were *Rogum ascipolire*, which the XII TABLES forbad, to carve and paint the wood of our funeral pile. I shall only call back your thoughts to stand with me upon the prospect of that horrid theatre of the Divine judgments, and say, †Come hither, and behold the Works of the Lord, what desolation he hath made in the earth;—and then who will not join with me to say, upon so convincing an occasion, We humble ourselves under the Almighty Hand of God, the Lord of all the world; we adore his Power and Majesty in lowly prostrations; before whom all the nations of the world are as a §drop of the bucket; the globe of the earth, as the small dust of the balance; and who taketh up the isles (even our Great Britain's too, as we call them) as a very little thing. ||Great and marvellous are thy Works, O Lord God Almighty! Who would not fear thee, and

* Sueton. l. v. n. 51.

† Dan. v. 6.

‡ Psm. xlv. 8.

§ Isa. xl. 15.

|| Apoc. xv. 3, 4.

glorify thy name, when thy judgments are thus manifest? Thou hast brought them down that dwell on high, and laid the lofty city low, even to the ground; the joyous city of our solemnities, the royal chamber, the emporium of the world, the mart of nations, the very top-gallant of all our glory, in the dust. *Even so, Holy Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight. We say not to our God, What doest thou? Wherefore hath the Lord done thus to this great city? We reply not,—we answer not again: The Lord hath spoken; let all the earth keep silence before him. We acknowledge thy Hand in it, O our God; we submit to thy good pleasure in it; we wait for thy comfort, and thy salvation in it. We meekly kiss the rod that strikes us:† with dying Jacob we desire to worship *ἐπὶ τὸ ἄκρον τῆς ῥάβδου*, with perfect resignation, as we are able, leaning and reposing upon the top of this thy severe rod. For ‡shall we receive good at the hand of our God, and shall we not receive evil? It is the same blessed hand that distributes and strikes; and with equal reverence and affection we adore it, whether he opens it wide in bounty, or contracts it close in severity: the one the Divine rhetoric to persuade us to learn righteousness, the other his more irrefragable logic, to convince and constrain us. And, therefore, we charge not our Maker foolishly; but meekly accept the punishment of our iniquity. And having thus adored

* Matt. xi. 26.

† Heb. xi. 21.

‡ Job, ii. 10.

his Power (which was the first) we go on in the next place to acknowledge his Justice too; saying, with Holy David, *Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy Judgments:—The second part of God's due.

Give him the glory of his Justice, also; and, if you learn no other righteousness in his school, at least learn this, and frankly confess it too. For though God's judgments may be secret, yet they cannot be unjust: †Like the great deep, indeed, an abyss unfathomable: but, though we have no plumb-line of reason that can reach it, our faith assures us, there is justice at the bottom. ‡Clouds and darkness are round about him, saith the Psalmist; but, as it follows, Righteousness and Judgment are the habitation of his throne: so much we may easily discern through all the veils and curtains that envelop him, that justice stands always fast by his judgment seat. And, therefore, though it be a nice and a delicate point to assign the particular sins, for which God hath thus sorely afflicted us; yet must we declare (as we are warranted by sacred authority) § That God hath laid his heavy Judgment upon us all, as an evidence of his displeasure for our sins in general.

Not to engage in that common theme; we may clear it a little by the light of our own fires (the particular instrument of our calamity) in two or three reflections upon that. God spake his righteous

* Psm. cxix. 137.

† Psm. xxxvi. 6.

‡ Psm. xcvi. 2.

§ The King's Declaration.

law at first out of the midst of the fire, *Exod. xix. 18.* And * He shall appear from Heaven again in flaming fire, taking vengeance on them that obey it not, saith the Apostle. Now, as the Prophet Amos argues, from another circumstance of terror wherewith the Law was given, the sound of the trumpet, the first trumpet certainly we ever read of in any record in the world, as the last trumpet (the Apostle tells us) † shall be that of the Arch-angel to summon us to account for it, ‡ ‘ Shall a trumpet be blown (and so, say I, shall a fire be kindled) in the city (nay, a whole city become but one great fire) and the people not be afraid; we not reflect upon our own guiltiness before God, who came at first with a § fiery Law in his right hand to teach us our duty, and shall come again at last with || fiery Indignation at his left, to devour all those that perform it not.’ Again, fire and water are the two great instruments of God’s double vengeance upon the world of the ungodly: the one long since past recorded for our instruction; the other yet to come, the matter (it ought to be, I am sure,) of our continual terror. ¶ The world that then was, perished by water, (saith St. Peter,) and the world that is now, is reserved unto fire: in the mean time, fire and water, things of commonest use with us, are also the standing metaphors almost in every verse of Scripture, to express

* 2 Thess. i. 8.

† 1 Cor. xv. 52.

‡ Amos iii. 6.

§ Deut. xxxiii. 2.

|| Heb. x. 27.

¶ 2 Pet. iii. 6, 7.

God's judgments of all sorts. Is it not on purpose to remind us, whenever we hear the sound, or make use of the things, or feel the smart of either, to reflect upon the heavy wrath of God against sin in his so solemn expressions of it? Once more, fire is the tyrant in nature, the king of the elements, the mighty Nimrod in the material world. God hath given us this active creature for our servant, and we degrade him to the meanest offices, to the drudgery of the kitchen, and the labour of the furnace. But God can infranchise him when he pleases, and let him loose upon us; and for our sins, of an useful servant, make him to us a rigorous and a tyrannical master. You saw him the other day, when he escaped from all your restraints, mocked all your resistance, scorned the limits you would have set him:—winged with our guilt, he flew triumphant over our proudest heights, waving his curled head, seeming to repeat us that lesson which holy St. Austin taught us long since, That the inferior creatures serve us men, only that we may serve Him, who made both us and them too. If we rebel against Heaven, *Συνεκπολεμήσει ὁ Κόσμος*, saith the wise man, *The world shall rise in arms upon us, and fight with him against the unwise. Even the holy fires of the Altar too, though kindled from Heaven on purpose to propitiate an angry Deity, proved often, through men's provocations, the instruments of his fury: the Mercy-seat be-

* Wisd. v. 20.

came the arsenal of vengeance, and from the presence of God himself went forth those flames that devoured his adversaries? And all to teach us this lesson, That it is sin puts the thunder into God's hand, and turns flames of love into a consuming fire.

And therefore dream no longer of grenadoes or fire-balls, or the rest of those witty mischiefs; search no more for *bouteficus* or *incendiaries*, Dutch or French: the Dutch intemperance, and the French pride and vanity, and the rest of their sins we are so fond of, are infinitely more dangerous to us than the enmity of either nation; for these make God our enemy too. Or, if you will needs find out the incendiary, look not abroad: *Intus hostis, intus periculum*, saith St. Jerome. Turn your eyes inward into your own bosoms; there lurks the great make-bate, the grand *boutefeu* between Heaven and us. Trouble not yourselves with planetary aspects, or great conjunctions; but for your own oppositions, direct and diametrical to God and his holy law. Fear not the signs of Heaven, but the sins on earth, which hath made a separation between you and your God. It is injurious to the sweet influences of the stars, to charge them with such dire effects, as wars, and pestilences, and conflagrations: *Divinæ Justitiæ opera hæc, sunt* (saith the Father) *et humanæ injustitiæ*. These are the products of God's righteousness upon our unrighteousness. Wherefore glorify we God in these our fires, saying with

the Prophet, *Righteousness belongeth to thee, O Lord, but unto us confusion of faces, as it is this day, because of our manifold trespasses that we have trespassed against thee.

If yet it be expected I should be more particular, in assigning the very sins that have occasioned this heavy judgment, it is a slippery place, and hard to keep firm footing in it. The mysterious text of God's holy Providence (as I said before) is dark and obscure; and so much the more, because there are so many interpreters, (for though there be no infallible judge of the sense of it, yet all fingers itch to be doing;) their conjecture so various and full of contradiction, so tainted and debauched with private prejudice, that they do but *σπείλῶν*, wrest it unskilfully, as they do the other holy text, *convertunt in mentem suam** (as the Ethiopic turns that place in St. Peter), torture, and torment it, till it confess their own sense. As for the many spiteful and unrighteous glosses upon the sad text of our present calamity (on which every faction amongst us hath a revelation, hath an interpretation;) I will not mention, much less imitate them. †*Justus accusator sui*, saith the wise man. It is a righteous thing for every man to suspect himself, to look first into the plague of his own heart, and to be ready to say with the Disciples, Master, is it not I? We are all over-apt to charge one another foolishly enough; to take St. Peter's counsel,

* 2 Peter, iii. 16.

† Prov. xviii. 17.

ἡλεός σοι, to be kind and favourable to ourselves in our interpretations and censures; but God, methinks, at present seems to accuse us all.

When a judgment is particular and reacheth but a few, we have a savage promptness in condemning the sufferers, with, This is God's just judgment for such a thing, which we, it seems, like not, though perhaps God himself doth. So long as the thunderbolt flies over our own heads, we hug ourselves, and all is well; it is our dear pastime, and a high voluptuousness to sit and censure others, and flatter ourselves that we are more righteous than they. To meet with this ill-humour, God hath reached us now an universal stroke that comes home to every man: so that it is as our Prophet states it, in the beginning of this sermon, *As with the Prince and the Priest, (for כֹּהֵן is both) so with the People; as with the Master and the Mistress, so with the Servant; as with the Buyer, and the Borrower, so with the Seller and the Lender. In fine, he is no Englishman that feels not this blow: and, therefore, as the judgment is universal, let us give glory to God, and confess, that the sin is so too; saying with the good Nehemiah, †Thou art just, O God, in all that is brought upon us; on our King, and on our Princes; on our Priests, and on our Prophets; on our Fathers, and on all thy people; for thou hast done right, but we have all done wickedly. God give us grace to take every one the shame that

* Chap. xxiv. 2.

† Chap. ix. 32, 33.

belongs properly to himself, and to join heartily together in a full chorus at the last, repeating that excellent exomologesis of holy David, with which I began this point, and shall now conclude it,— ‘ Righteous art thou, O Lord, and just are thy judgments.’ But there is another yet behind—

Lastly, give God the Glory of his Mercy too;* that must in nowise be forgotten. It is the privilege and prerogative of Mercy, that it mixeth itself in all God’s Works; even in justice itself too. † He sendeth forth lightnings with the rain, (saith the Psalmist,) he bringeth the winds out of his treasures. Strange furniture, one would think, for a treasury, storms and tempest! But there is so very much of mercy even in God’s judgments too, that they also deserve a place amongst his treasures, aye, and amongst ours too. For he licenseth not a wind, or a storm, lets not fly a flash of lightning, or a ball of fire, but a mercy goes along with it; comes flying to us (if we miss it not by our negligence or inadvertency) upon the wings of that wind; and discovers itself to us even by the light of those fires. And therefore turn not away your eyes in horror, but study the late conflagration: and even in the dust and ashes of our city, if we sift and examine them well, we may find rich treasures of mercy hidden.

1. Mercy, first, that God spared us and preserved

* S. Ambrose, suo jure omnibus Dei operibus superingreditur et supernatat.

† Psm. cxxxv. 7.

us so long. For without his divine manutency, our strongest fabrics had fallen immediately upon their very builders; he that made all things at first, by preserving makes them still; now makes them every moment; and for his will's sake alone they were and are created. He carries nature always in his bosom, fostering and cherishing her; and that not only as she came out of his own hand, and bears the impresses of his infinite wisdom and power; but as we have transformed and disguised her by our petty skill; as she is, fettered and shackled by our silly artifices: even the world of fancy too, the poor attempts and bunglings of art, our houses of dirt and clay (which we call palaces and so please ourselves in) would quickly fall asunder, and moulder all into the dust they consist of, did not an Almighty hand uphold them. If He keep not the house and the city, in vain the builder builds, and the watchman wakes, and the sentinel stands *perdu*. And, therefore, give we him the glory of his mercy, saying, * Thanks be to the Lord, who so long showed us marvellous great kindness, I say not, with the Psalm, in a strong city (though the strongest without him is weakness) but in a very weak one: a city in the meanness of the materials, the oldness of the buildings, the straightness of some streets, the ill situation of others, and many like inconveniences, so exposed to this dismal accident, that it must

* Psm. xxxi. 21.

needs have been long since in ashes, had not his miraculous mercy preserved it, who, so long as he pleaseth, (and that is just so long as we please him,) continues the fire to us useful and safe, serviceable and yet innocent, with as much ease as he lays it asleep and quiet in the bosom of a flint.

2. Mercy again, that he afflicts us at all; that we are yet in his school;* that he hath not quite given us over, and turned us out as unteachable and incorrigible. † *Felix cui Deus dignatur irasci*, saith Tertullian; in David's language, Blessed is the man whom thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him in thy law; sendest him thy judgments, and learnest him thy righteousness. But to sin, and not be punished, is the sorest punishment of all, saith St. Chrysostom. ‡ *Dimisit eos secundum desideria cordis*, he suffered them to walk after their own heart's lusts—that is a dreadful portion: let them alone, § why should they be stricken any more? That is the prosperity of fools that destroys them, as Solomon; or as David phraseth it, This is for God to rain snares upon the ungodly: a horrible tempest indeed! as he there calls it, and worse than the fire and brimstone in the same verse.

3. Mercy too, that he afflicts us himself, keeps us still under his own discipline, and hath not yet given us over unto the will of our adversaries.

* Psm. xciv. 12.

† Ἡ μεγάλη κόλασις τὸ ἀμαρτανῶν καὶ μὴ κολαίεσθαι.

‡ Psm. lxxxi. 13.

§ Isa. i. 5. Prov. i. 32. Psm. xi. 6.

* The hand of an enemy poisons the wound : his malice or his insolence doubles and trebles the vexation. The malignity of the instrument may envenom a scratch into a gangrene. But the blessed hand of God, even when it strikes, drops balsam. His very rods are bound up in silk and softness, and dipt before-hand in balm : he wounds that he may heal, and in wounding heals: *Una eademque manus vulnus, opemque*—and, therefore, may we never be beaten by the hand of a cruel and insulting slave ; but let our righteous Lord himself † smite us, and it shall be a kindness ; let him correct us, and it shall be an excellent oil. ‡ O let us still fall into the hands of God (for great are his mercies) but let us not fall into the hands of men.

4. Mercy, lastly, in the degree of the affliction ; that he hath punished us less than our iniquities deserve ; afflicted us in measure ; corrected us in judgment, not in his fury, for then we had been utterly brought to nothing : that we have had our lives for a prey, and are as so many fire-brands plucked out of the burning. And, therefore, why should a living man complain ? Say we rather as Abraham did in the case of Sodom, when he had that horrible scene of vengeance now in his eye, § we are but dust and ashes. Not only dust in the course of ordinary frailty, but ashes too in the merit of a far sharper doom ; deserve that God

* Psm. xxvii. 14.

† Psm. cxli. 5.

‡ 2 Sam. xxiv. 14.

§ Gen. xviii. 27.

should bring us to dust, nay, even turn us to ashes too, as our houses. * It is of the Lord's mercies that we ourselves also are not consumed, because his compassions fail not; that any part of our city is still remaining; that God hath left us yet a holy place to assemble in, solemnly to acknowledge (as we do this day) his most miraculous mercy: that when all our wit was puzzled, and all our industry tired out, when the wind was at the highest, and the fire at the hottest, and all our hopes were now giving up the ghost, then He, whose season is our greatest extremity; He, who stayeth his rough wind in the day of the east wind,† as it is in the next chapter; He, who alone sets bounds to the rage of the waters, restrained also on the sudden, the fury of this other merciless and unruly element, by the interposition of his Almighty *Hucusque*, hitherto shalt thou go and no further. Aye, this deserves, indeed, to be the matter of a song: joy in the Lord upon so great an occasion, upon so noble an experience, sits not unhandsome on the brow of so sad a day as this is. ‡ It shall be said in that day, (saith our Prophet, and let us all say it; say it with triumph, and jubilee too,) Lo, this is our God, we have waited for him, and he hath saved us; this is the Lord, we will be glad, and rejoice in his salvation:—The third and last part (we shall mention) of God's due, the glory of his mercy.

* Lam. iii. 22.

† Ch. xxvii. 8.

‡ Ch. xxv. 9.

And now having thus cleared and secured the fountain of righteousness, in the discharge of some part of our duty to God (where regularly it must begin;) it remains, *Ut ducatur rivus justitie de fonte pietatis*, as St. Gregory speaks: it must not be a fountain sealed or shut up within itself; (religion is not, as some would have it, a super-sedeas to common honesty; the performing our duty towards God, no discharge of our duty to man:) in the next place it should run down like a river,* in mighty streams of righteousness to all our neighbours round about us; the other great branch, the second table, or (if you will) the other hemisphere in this great globe of righteousness. And here, *Ecce novas Hyadas, aliumque Oriona*—So many new asterisms and constellations of virtues appear, that the time will not give leave to number them, or call them all by their names: I can only touch lightly the greater circles, some of the more comprehensive lines and measures of them, in these few generals, and so pass on.

1. It is righteousness indefinitely, first, and so universally. So that it will not be sufficient to take forth some part of it in God's school, a line or two, it may be, of our great lesson, and neglect the rest; to study some one page or paragraph, and tear all the book besides; to break the tables (to far worse effect than Moses did) and content ourselves with some sorry fragment: no, whatever

* Amos. v. 24.

goes under the common style of universal justice; whatever falls within the large bosom of that comprehensive epitome, into which our Lord himself abridged the Law and the Prophets, * All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do even so to them; whatever comes within compass of that Νόμος Βασιλικός, as St. James calls it, the *Royal Law*,† (the latter part of the holy institutes, the other tome of the Christian pandects, the second great commandment like the first, as our Saviour styles it) ‡Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself; even all the offices and instances of duty between man and man; (reverence and obedience to our superiors; courtesy and humanity to our equals; kindness and condescension to our inferiors; gratitude and thankfulness to our benefactors; justice and upright dealing towards all; truth in our words, and faithfulness in our trusts, and constancy to our promises, and candour, and sincerity and honesty in all our actions: and yet further and higher, for it is a righteousness improved and heightened, or at least interpreted by our Lord into love, and so obligeth us beyond the strict measures of common justice, and not only renders what is legally due, but gives and forgives beyond it;) equity and moderation to those that are any ways obnoxious to us; mildness and gentleness to those that have any way offended us; sympathy and compassion towards them that suf-

* Matth. vii. 12. † Jam. ii. 8. ‡ Matth. xxii. 38, 39.

fer; mercy and bounty to them that need ; goodness and peaceableness, and charity to all the world : these are all parts of this great lesson, and whatever else may help to denominate us the righteous nation that keepeth the truth, (as it is in the second verse of this chapter,) or the city in which dwells righteousness.

2. But then as it is righteousness indefinitely, the * Commandment exceeding broad, as David speaks, wide in the extension ; so it is also as deep in the intention, it is righteousness internally and spiritually too ; as being a righteousness taught us by God's, and not by man's, judgments only, and consequently must have an effect proportionable : it is *When thy judgments are in the Earth, Men will learn.*—As the Jews, while their fear towards God was taught them by the precepts of men, drew near to him, and honoured him with their mouth only, but removed their hearts far away from him, Isai. xxix. 13. Upon the same ground, our righteousness will never exceed the righteousness of Scribes, and Pharisees, hypocrites ; must needs prove noise and appearance only, a mere and vain semblance, if we learn it in no higher school than man's : take it forth from the Twelve Tables only, not from the Two, and have no other tutor in it than Solon, or Lycurgus, or Justinian. For the derivation can return no higher than the fountain-head ; and what

* Ps. cxix. 96.

is taught us only by the statutes of Omri, or at Cæsar's judgment-seat, will never come up to what the perfect law of God requires. While we are under this lower and external discipline only, if we can but skulk and shift, and play least in sight, and seem to be righteous, though we are not so; *recti in curiâ*, though not upright in heart: or if we be discovered and impleaded too, if we can, whether by power or artifice, break through the venerable cobweb, and run under the miserable shelter of a temporal indemnity at these lower bars; why, all is well: with * Solomon's wanton we wipe our mouths, and are suddenly very virgins again, not only safe, but innocent too. But, though human laws exact only outward compliances, assume not to themselves to judge the heart, because they cannot discern it, nor take cognizance of secret thoughts and purposes, further than they are declared by overt acts: yet God is a spirit, and a discerner of the inmost thoughts and intentions; and his law spiritual too, and given to the spirit; and the righteousness taught in his school is not a carcass, nor an outside only, but a living soul, and a spirit of righteousness: and by consequence it stays not in the outward act, (the proper object of human laws and provisions;) restrains not only open violences (such as the judgment-seat of man condemns, and the scaffold or the gibbet take notice of;) not only

* Prov. xxx. 20.

smoothes and polishes the outward garb, to render that plausible in the eyes of the world : but goes yet further and deeper, even to the heart ; composeth the whole inner man too, and labours to approve that to the righteous judge, who sees not as man sees ; and, in fine, calls us up to that glorious height of the primitive Christians in Justin Martyr, who obeyed indeed the municipal laws of their country, but out-lived them too, and surmounted them far, *Τῶς βίοις ἰδίαις νικῶντες τὰς νόμους*, as he speaks ; they contented not themselves with so scant measures, but flew a higher and a nobler pitch, aiming at a more refined and perfect righteousness, the worthy effect of God's judgments, and not of man's only ; taught in his school alone, and not at our tribunals. And, then,

Lastly, It is righteousness positively, and affirmatively too. For though the decalogue is almost all over negative in the style and form of it ; yet, our Lord, by reducing all the precepts of it to one affirmative (love,) and also by his affirmative glosses or additions to it in his sermon on the Mount, seems to have authorized the rule of their exposition, received generally by Christian divines, that the negative still infers the affirmative, and that there are many yeas concealed in the bosom of every such no. So that, however it is indeed a part of our duty, not to murder, and not to slander, and not to covet, and the like, (an obligation consequent upon God's prohibition ; and he takes it well, when, for his sake, we ab-

stain from the evil we are inclined or strongly solicited to, and so accepts graciously our very nothing, as I may call it, our not doing amiss; thus giving us leave to inclose, as it were, a part of our waste, and to raise some revenue upon it :) yet this is so much short of the height of the lesson we are to learn in God's school, that it is only the unlearning something that might obstruct it; so far from making us truly righteous, that it can only style us innocent, and set us *extra vitia* rather than *intra virtutem*. We must not then content ourselves with a negative righteousness; nor confine and limit it within the sorry bounds of the pharisaical boast, * that we are not, as other men are, extortioners or unjust: in some cases, he is unjust too, that gives not his own, as well as he that takes away what is another's:† in the Sacred Dialect, alms-deeds are justice too; even acts of mercy and bounty to those that need them, *stricti juris*, a part of our righteousness sometimes so indispensable as not to be omitted without sin. And therefore glorify thyself no longer, that thou doest harm to no man:

——— Cum dicis stultum, qui donat amico,
Qui paupertatem levat, attollitque propinqui,
Et spoliare doces———‡

could the heathen poet say: he robs his neighbour that relieves him not: he spoils his friend,

* Luk. xviii. 11.

† Ps. cxii. 9. Isai. lviii. 7, 8.

‡ Juvenal. Sat. xiv.

that in some cases doth not supply him. And though it is well (a good decree) if we can say with St. Paul, *I have wronged no man; yet he only is perfectly blameless in this kind, *Qui ne in eo quidem ulli noceat, quod prodesse desistat*,† as St. Jerome excellently; who doth not this evil to his neighbour, that he omits to do him all the good he can. Thou didst not burn thy neighbour's house (a strange piece of uncouth righteousness!) but dost thou receive him into thy own, now he is harbourless? Thou hast not oppressed or impoverished thy brother; it is well: but is thy abundance the supply of his want in this present exigence? thy superfluity the ransom and redemption of his extreme necessities? If not, remember that ‡Dives is in torments, not for robbing Lazarus, but for not relieving him: and the dreadful decretory sentence proceeds, at the last day, not for oppressing the poor, but for not feeding, not clothing, not visiting them: a reflection very common, indeed, yet never more proper or seasonable than at this time when God presents us an object of charity, the greatest, I think, and the most considerable that was ever offered to this nation, and when Heaven and earth expect, that something extraordinary should be done.

I have now opened the book, and laid it before you, and given you a short draught of this very important lesson: a lesson so considerable, that

* 2 Cor. vii. 2.

† Lib. 1. Epist. 14. ad Celantiam.

‡ Matth. xxxv.

our wise and good God thinks it worth his while to rout armies, and sink navies, to burn up cities, and turn kingdoms upside down; to send wars, and plagues, and conflagrations amongst us; to set open all his schools, and ply all his severest methods to teach it us the more effectually. Think, now, that He looks down this day from Heaven, to take notice of our proficiency; to see how far we are advanced by these his judgments in learning righteousness. And is it possible we should stand out any longer? Can we still resist so powerful a Grace? Are not the parts of the text by this time happily met together; and the truth of it accomplished and exemplified in us to the full? God's judgments on us, and his righteousness in us? Who would not think and hope so? But as St. Jerome complains of his age (which was indeed very calamitous) *Orbis Romanus ruit, et tamen cervix nostra non flectitur*: the world sinks and cracks about our ears, and yet our neck as stiff, and the crest of our pride as lofty and as erect as ever. How few are they that repent in dust and ashes, even now, that God hath laid our city in dust, and our houses in ashes! Look we first upon the text, and then upon ourselves, and we must ingenuously acknowledge, that, whatever abatements or diminutions to the height of the designed event of God's judgments upon us the text, or any version of it note, or imply, our wretched evil lives do but too plainly express and justify. For—

1. Who are they that are said here to learn righteousness in the text? Not always the afflicted themselves, it seems; but some others that stand by and look on. For it is not to be omitted, that the phrase manifestly varies in the parts of the proposition: *Judgments in the Earth*, or upon the land, some particular country; and the *World* at large, or some few in it, *learn Righteousness*. Thus *Tyrus shall be devoured with fire, saith the Prophet: Ashkelon shall see it, and fear; Gaza and Ekron shall be very sorrowful: but not a word how Tyrus herself is affected. God forbid it should be so with us! May it never be said, that any of our neighbours make better use of our calamities, than we ourselves! Have we any so hard hearted amongst us, that can look upon so sad a spectacle, as if they sate all the while in the theatre, or walked in a gallery of pictures; little more concerned, than at the siege of Rhodes, or the ruins of Troy? Shall any neighbour-city say wisely—*Mea res agitur, jam proximus ardet Ucalegon*——? Shall our enemies themselves (the sober and the wise amongst them, at the least) tremble at the relation, and we continue stupid and senseless? Shall Constantinople and Alexandria resent it, and we not regard it as we ought? Nay, shall China and Peru, (it may be) Surat and Mexico, both the Indies hear, and be affected with it, and we ourselves insensible? Shall the inhabi-

* Zach. ix. 4, 5.

tants of the world abroad warm themselves at our fires, with kindly and holy heats; while, in the mean time, our repentings are not kindled, nor our charity inflamed, and our devotion as cold and frozen as ever? Shall our mountain (which we said, in our jolly pride, should never be removed) be fulminated, and thunder-struck, but the blessed shower that follows, the instruction that descends after, like the rain, slide off to the vallies, to others that are round about us? Our Lord *wept over Jerusalem, because she knew not then (at forty years distance) the time of her visitation; for the days will come, saith He, when there shall not be left one stone upon another: but, wo is me! our day is come already, and our visitation now actually upon us; and yet, I fear, we will not know it, as we ought. For—

2. Reflect a little upon the tense of the verb, how that varies too in the parts of the proposition: The Judgments *are* in the earth, and the Inhabitants *will* learn——(so the vulgar Latin and the English,) it is still *per verba de futuro*. For we list not to handfast ourselves to God Almighty, to make ourselves over to him by present deed of gift; but would fain, forsooth, bequeath ourselves to him, a legacy, in our last will and testament. Aye, but *in necessitatibus nemo liberalis*: it is not a free or a noble donation, which we bestow, when we can keep it no longer

* Luk. xix. 41.

to ourselves: for such a bequest, we may thank death, rather than the testator, saith St. Chrysostom. But we are all Clinicks* in this point; would fain have a baptism in reserve, a wash for all our sins, when we cannot possibly commit them any more. Like Felix, the unjust governor, when St. Paul † reasons of righteousness, our heads begin to ache, and presently we adjourn, with, Go thy way for this time, *Καὶρὸν δὲ μεταλαβόντες*, (as he pretended) when we have time and opportunity, and convenient leisure, (which we read not that he ever found); in plain English, when we have nothing else to do, or can do nothing else, then we will take forth this lesson;—learn righteousness, as Cato did Greek, *jam Septuagenarius*, just when we are a dying;—begin, then, to con our part, when we are ready to be hissed off the stage, and death is now pulling off our properties. But take we heed in time: he may prove a false prophet, that promiseth himself to die the death of the righteous, when he hath loved and pursued the ways and wages of unrighteousness all his life long: who thinks, if he can but shape the last faint breath he draws into a formal pretence of forgiving all the world, and a sly desire of being forgiven; upon these two hangs the whole stress of his righteousness; he goes out of God's school upon fair terms, and thinks to render a plausible

* Τῷ θανάτῳ χάρις, &c. Hom. xvii. in Ephes.

† Acts, xxiv. 25.

account of himself. No, no; the great lesson of the text is harder and deeper than so: it is that we must sweat for, it is that we may bleed for: it is all that Adam lost, and all that Christ came to recover: it is the business of our whole life, and it is desperate folly and madness to defer to learn it till death, when God now calls us to account for it. Though the verb in some versions be future (as I said) yet still it is *discent habitatores*, we must learn it while we dwell here in the world, and who can secure us that beyond the next moment? When once we remove hence, there is no school beyond: the Platonic *Eruditorum* in *Origen* (a place under ground, I know not where, in which separated souls are supposed to learn what they missed of or neglected here) as very a fable as the Platonic Purgatory. *As there is no work, nor labour; so no device, nor knowledge, nor wisdom in the grave. The schools are all in this world: all beyond is prison, and dungeon, and place of torment, for such as learn not their duty here; fire without light, and utter darkness.

3. Again, *They did learn* (so the Syriac, and the interlineary Latin) *when thy judgments were in the earth*: for there is an ellipsis in the original of the former clause, and the verb substantive may be supplied either way, when thy judgments *are* or *were* in the earth: and the conjunction may seem to stand fair for the latter פֶּנִּי in *quantum*, or *juxta*

* Eccles. ix. 10.

quod; מִלֵּךְ (as R. David glosseth it) *qua mensura, aut modo*; and so the Syriac, *Qualia Judicia, talem Justitiam didicerunt*; so much judgment, so much justice; righteousness they *did* learn, just while God's rod was over them, and no longer. Thus, while God's plagues lay heavy upon Pharaoh, even that stiff neck bowed, and that hard heart was softened; as iron in a quick fire relents and melts, but take it out of the furnace and it grows hard again, nay, worse, churlish, and unmalleable: and so he, when he saw that there was respite, saith the text, or a breathing time, he hardened his heart. *Exod. viii. 15.* And do not we all the same? Like teeming women, while the pangs are upon us, *we have sorrow; when some great affliction give us a smart visit, strikes home and deep, we seem to be a little sensible: aye, but the throes once over, (ὅτε ἔτι μνημονεύει, saith our Lord) the woman remembers them no more; and so we. If but for a little space grace be showed us, if God gives us but a little respite in our bondage, like Israel newly returned from Babel, we straight forget his commandments; which made the good Ezra ashamed, and blushed to lift up his face to Heaven: *Ezra, chap. ix. ver. 8. 10.*

Happy we, if, as Pliny † adviseth his friend Maximus, *Tales esse sani perseveremus, quales futuros profitemur infirmi*; if we continue such in health as we promise to be upon our sick beds. But, alas! ‡ *Convaluit; mansit, ut ante.* How few

* John, xvi. 21.

† Lib. 7. Ep. 27.

‡ Psm. lxxi. 14.

with David pay the vows which they speak with their mouths, when they were in trouble? Do not the engagements on the sick bed vanish, like the dreams of the sick, forgotten, as if they had never been? I appeal to your own bosoms; though affected at first with this late dismal accident, doth it not prove to you a nine-days' wonder, and your thoughts, though much startled at first, by degrees reconcile to it? Do not your devotions begin to grow cold with the fires; raked up, like those dying sparks in dead ashes, and buried in the dust;—*Ignes suppositi cineri doloso*? Just as our Prophet states it here, *While thy Judgments were upon them, they learned*; but, as it follows immediately, * *Fiat gratia impio*, Let favour be showed to the wicked, the least intermission or kind interval, and he will not learn righteousness, saith the text expressly; he soon lays by his book, and gives over. But,

4. Lastly, what is it that we learn? Or, to what good end or purpose? The Chaldee Paraphrast interposeth here a very material and operative word, *Discent operari*, they will learn לַמַּעֲשֵׂה to do, or to work righteousness. And this addition shows us another of our defects; cuts off, I fear, above half the roll of our learners at once. We live (as I said) in a learned age: but in all this crowd and throng of learners, how few put themselves in good earnest into God's school? And

* Verse 10.

of them that do, how much fewer yet take forth their lesson aright?—Learn any thing else they will, but not righteousness; and, if that, any thing, but to do it? But this is not ὀρθολογισμῶν, rightly to divide; this is to mangle the text, and to saw Isaiah asunder again. Would learning, or talking, or pretending serve the turn, we might find righteousness enough in the world: we can define it, and distinguish it, criticise upon the word, and dispute of the thing without end: we stuff our heads with the notion, and tip our tongues with the language, and fill the world with our pretences to it: but * Little children, saith St. John, (O ye world of learners) be not deceived, (let no man seduce you into this piece of gnosticism, as if to learn, or to know, were sufficient; no,) ὁ ποιῶν, he that doth righteousness, he is righteous. *Non fortia loquimur, sed vivimus*, saith St. Cyprian: the life of religion is doing. What we know, we must practise too: † Where to we have already attained, we must walk in it, saith the Apostle. They that followed Christ, were first indeed called ‡ Disciples, that is learners, (for there we must begin;) but they soon after commenced Christians at Antioch, anointed to action, as the word implies; and this name sticks by them still, as the more essential. Their oil must not be spent all in the lamp, *in scholâ sapientiæ*, that they may shine by knowledge; they

* 1 John, iii. 7.

† Phil. iii. 16.

‡ Acts, xi. 26.

must do their exercises, too, *in gymnasio Justitiæ*, be anointed to the *Agon*, and to the combat (as the champions of old;) and, if they expect the crown of righteousness, must not only learn righteousness, but learn to do it.

And therefore (to shut up all, and to enforce it a little upon such topics as the text' and the sad face of things amongst us suggest;) let us no longer trifle with God Almighty, now we find to our cost, that He is in good earnest with us. Be not deceived; God, I am sure, is not mocked. It is not our fasting and looking demure a little, and hanging down the head, like a bullrush, for a day; it is not a few grimaces of sorrow, a sad word or two, or a weeping eye, will serve the turn:—our hearts must bleed, too, our souls must be afflicted, and mourn for our old unrighteousnesses, and forsake them, too, and renounce them all for ever; and yet, further, take forth new lessons of righteousness *in all holy conversations and godlinesses, as St. Peter speaks, even in all the instances of piety, and justice, and charity, ye heard of even now, or all this holy discipline of God is lost and spent in vain upon us. For, †this is all the fruit, saith 'our Prophet, to take away sin: if that remain still in us, adversity is a bitter cup, indeed. To keep our sins, and hold them fast, even when God's judgments are upon us for them—this is with Copronymus, to pollute

* 2Pet. iii. 11.

† Cap. xxvii. 9.

the fountain that should wash us, to defile the salutary waters of affliction, to prophane the holy fires of God's furnace, and to pass through the fire to Moloch, to some reigning and domineering sin, some tyrant lust, or mistress-passion. Correction without instruction, this is the scourge of asses, not the discipline of men, nor the rod of the sons of men. To suffer much, and not to be at all the better for it, it is certainly one of the saddest portions that can befall us in this world; if not the foreboding and prognostic of a far sadder yet to come, the very beginnings of hell here, the foretastes of that cup of bitterness, of which the damned suck out the dregs.

And wilt thou, after all this, hide the sweet morsel under thy tongue, when thou sensibly perceivest it already turning into the gall of asps?—Still long for the delicious portion consecrated, and snatch it greedily from God's altars, though thou seest thy fingers burn, and thy nest on fire with it?—Still retain the old complacency in thy sparkling cup, though thou feelest it already biting like a serpent, and stinging like an adder?—Say still, * Stolen waters are sweet, though like those bitter ones of jealousy, thou perceivest them carry a curse along with them into thy very bowels? † Dare we thus provoke the Lord to jealousy? Are we stronger than He? ‡ Gird up now thy loins like a Man, thou stoutest and gallantest of the sons

* Prov. ix. 17.

† 1 Cor. x. 22.

‡ Job, xxviii. 3.

of earth. *Hast thou an arm like God? Or canst thou thunder with a voice like Him? Wilt thou set the briars and thorns of the wilderness against Him in battle array? Or canst thou † dwell with everlasting burnings? Or despisest thou the Riches of his Goodness and Forbearance; not knowing (refusing to know) ‡ that the Long-suffering of our Lord is Salvation, and that his Goodness leadeth thee to Repentance? If not, know assuredly, that thy hardness and impenitent heart do but treasure up for thee yet a fiercer and more insupportable wrath.

And, therefore, let us not flatter ourselves, nor think that God hath now emptied his quiver, and spent all his artillery upon us; let us not come forth delicately with the foolish Agag, saying, § Surely the bitterness of death is past: no, the dregs of the cup of fury are still behind; God grant we be not forced at last to drink them, and suck them up. Great Plagues remain for the ungodly, saith the Psalmist. || *Va unum abiit; ecce duo veniunt.* One Woe is past, but behold there come two Woes more; for the rest of men that were not killed by the former plagues repented not. Apoc. ix. 12. 20. When God's rods and his *ferulas* (the discipline of children) are contemned, he hath a lash of scorpions to scourge the obstinate. When the ten dreadful plagues are spent all

* Isa. xxxiii, 14.

† Rom. ii. 4.

‡ 2 Pet. iii. 15.

§ 1 Sam. xv. 32.

|| Psm. xxxii. 11.

upon a stubborn Egypt without effect, there is a Red Sea yet in reserve, that at last swallows all: and, if our present afflictions reform us not, that we sin no more, take we heed, lest yet a worse thing befall us. Remember, that when the touch of God's little finger did not terrify us, he soon made us feel the stroke of his heavy hand. If the more benign and benedict medicines will not work, nor stir us at all, he can prepare us a rougher receipt, or a stronger dose; retrieve and bring back his former judgments in a sharper degree, or else send upon us new ones, which we never dreamt of.

The Devil of Rebellion and Disobedience, which not long since possessed the nation, rent and tore it till it foamed again, and pined away in lingering consumptions; that cast it oft-times into the fire, and oft-times into the water (calamities of all sorts) to destroy it; is now, through God's mercies, cast out, and we seem to sit quiet and sober at the feet of our deliverer, clothed, and in our right minds again. But yet this ill spirit, this restless fury (this unquiet and dreadful Alastor, the eldest son of Nemesis, and heir apparent to all the terrors and mischiefs of his mother) walks about day and night, seeking rest, and finds none; and he saith, in his heart, I will return some time or other to my house from whence I came out. O let us take heed of provoking that God, who alone chains up his fury, lest for our sins he permit him to return once more with seven other

spirits more wicked than himself, and so our last estate prove worse than the former.

The sword of the Angel of Death, which the last year cut down almost a hundred thousand of us, may seem to have been glutted with our blood, and to have put up itself into the scabbard. **Quiesce et sile*, as the Prophet speaks: God grant it may rest here, and be still. But, as it follows there, How can it be quiet, if the Lord give it a new commission against us? Methinks I see the hand still upon the guard, and, unless we prevent it by our speedy repentance, it may quickly be drawn again more terrible than ever, new furbished, and whetted with the keener edge and point our wretched ingratitude must needs have given it. The Sun of Righteousness was ready to rise upon us, with healing in his wings, to clear our heaven again, and to scatter the cloud of the last year's unhealthiness. But yet, methinks, this slow moving cloud hangs over our heads, hovers yet in view, with God knows how many plagues and deaths in the bosom of it: and, without our serious amendment, we have no rainbow to assure us, that we shall not again be drenched in that horrible tempest. Though the best Naturalists say, † 'that great public fires are a proper remedy for the plague,' yet God, if he be angry, can send a ruffling wind into the very ashes of our city, blow them into the air, and turn them,

* Jer. xlvii. 6.

† Diamerbr. de peste Noviomag.

as those of the Egyptian furnace, into a blain, and a botch, * and a plague sore upon us.

Nay, even out of those dead ashes can He raise yet a fiercer flame, to consume what still remains. As the lightning cometh out of the East, saith our Lord, and shineth even unto the West, so shall my coming be, (*sc.* to destroy Jerusalem,) and wherever the carcase is, will the eagles be gathered together. Matth. xxiv. Fire is the eagle in nature; nothing in the elementary world mounts so high to its place, and stoops so low to its prey: the two properties God himself ascribes to that bird, Job, xxxix. 27. 30. And, if we still refuse obstinately to be gathered like chickens under our Lord's wing, he can again let loose this bird of prey, this eagle of Heaven upon us; and, from the East, where it began before, fly it home like lightning, *ἕως δυσμῶν*, even to the utmost West, to seize and to devour wherever there is the least quarry remaining.

Or, if this move us not, let us remember that we have another city upon the waters, a floating town of moveable forts and castles, the walls and bulwarks of the nation; stronger than those of brass the fable speaks of. As we desire that God would ever 'fill their sails with prosperous gales, and still bring them home with honour and victory and good success; let us take heed that we fight not against them too. Our sin, like a talent of lead, may sink them to the bottom; our lusts,

* Exod. ix. 8, 9.

and passions, and animosities may fire them; our drunkenness, and deep excesses may drown them; our vollies of oaths and blasphemies may pierce them; nay, our seditious murmurings, and privy whisperings may blow them over. For God is *Piorum rupes, reorum scopulus*; a rock to found the just upon, but a shelf to shipwreck, and confound the unrighteous.

And yet all these are but the common roads and ordinary instances of God's displeasures: but he hath also, besides, and beyond all these, unknown treasures of wrath, vast stores of hidden judgments (for * who knows the power, or the extent of his anger?) laid up in those secret magazines where his judgments are, when they are not in the earth, reserved as his dreadful artillery against the time of trouble, against the day of battle and war, as he speaks himself, Job, xxxviii. 23. Oh let us take heed of †treasuring up to ourselves wrath against that day of wrath, and the revelation of his righteous judgments.

And now what shall I say more, if all that hath been said hitherto, prove ineffectual? The text affords yet one expedient, as the Chaldee Paraphrast may seem to have understood it: Because thy Judgment, saith he, (not, כְּשֶׁפֶט as in the Hebrew, but דִּינָא רַבָּנָא or דִּינָא רַבָּנָא as the Jews call it, and St. Jude from them, ‡The Judgment of the great Day,) because that judgment, though not as yet in

* Psal. xc. 2.

† Rom. i. 5.

‡ Jude 6.

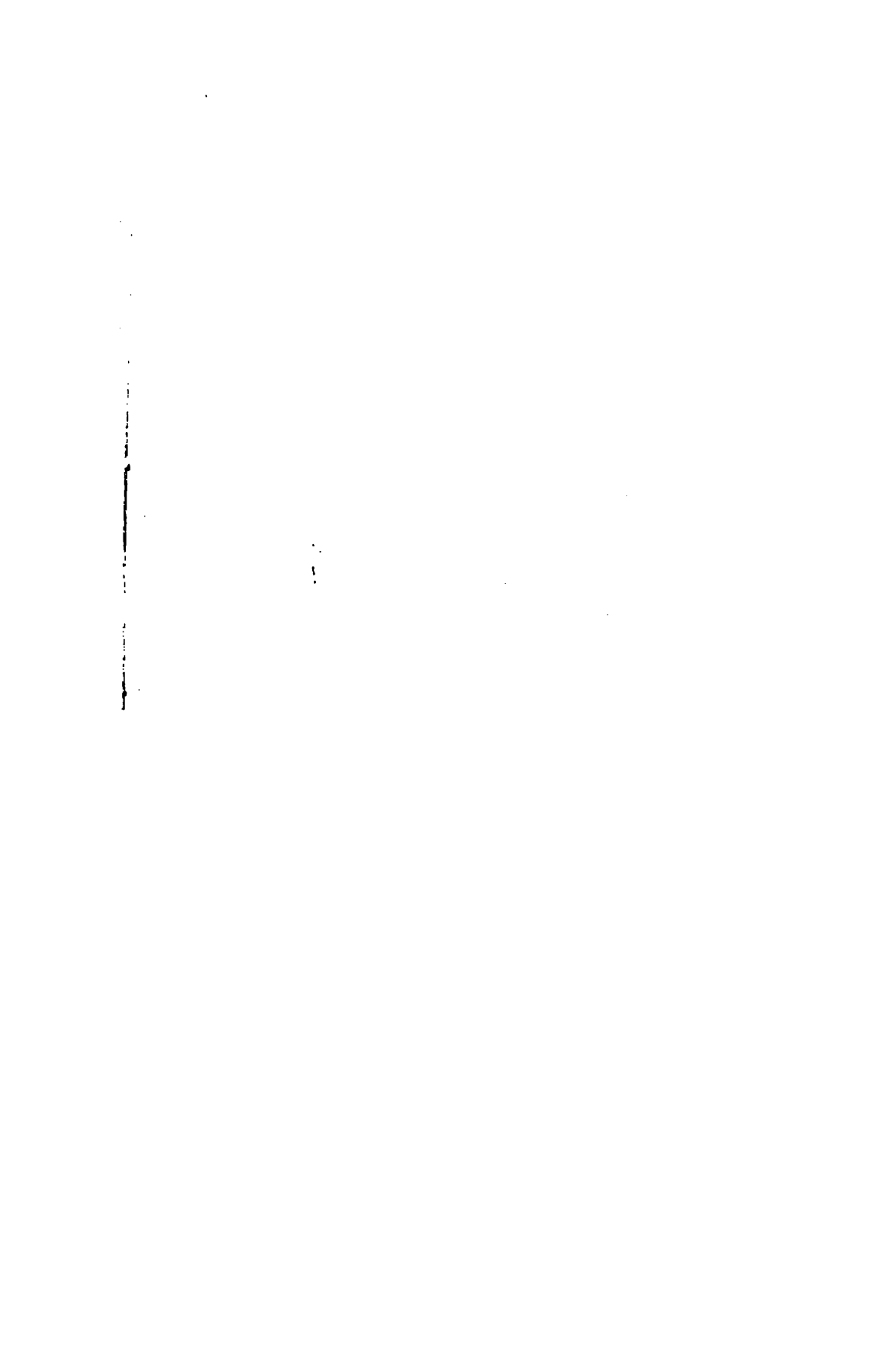
the earth, is yet fixed, and appointed, and prepared for all the earth (**עַל** in the Hebrew itself, too, *for* rather than *in* the earth), therefore most certainly, if at all, or for any thing, the inhabitants of the world will learn righteousness.

But, if they put far from them this evil day too, as if they had made a covenant with death and with hell; if they finally refuse to come under God's discipline, and to take forth to themselves lessons of righteousness here, they shall then be made themselves great lessons and dreadful examples of God's righteousness to all the world. If they will not glorify God in these fires, as they ought, nor walk in the light of them; let them remember that there are fires without light, where none glorify him, but by suffering the eternal vengeance of their sins. There must they learn by saddest experience, who obstinately refuse the more gainful method, *ὅτι φοβερὸν ἐμπεσεῖν*, that it is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of a living God. For our enemies here must die, and our storms at last blow over, and our fires, you see, though never so great, in time go out and vanish: but God lives; hath a worm, too, that dies not (for those that live not as they ought) and a fire that is not quenched: the Babylonian furnace, seven times hotter than usual, a cool walk to that; all our Vulcans and Ætnas, our Heclas and Andes faint types and shadows of it; the great conflagration we so lately trembled at, and still bewail, but a spark to that infernal Tophet, but a painted

fire to that dreadful Mongibel ; even everlasting burnings. From which God of his tender mercy deliver us all ; and give us grace in this our day (the day of his judgments) so to learn righteousness, and so to do it, that at the last and great Day of Judgment, when He shall come again to account with us for all our learning, and for all our doings, we may, through his mercy, receive the crown of righteousness, for His sake alone, who so dearly bought it for us, even Jesus Christ the Righteous : to whom, with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, be ascribed by us, and all the creatures in Heaven and earth, blessing, honour, glory and power, henceforth and for evermore. AMEN.

Μόνῳ Θεῷ δόξα.





A

SERMON

PREACHED TO THE HOUSE OF PEERS, NOVEMBER 13TH, 1678,
BEING THE FAST-DAY APPOINTED BY THE KING TO IMPORE THE
MERCIES OF ALMIGHTY GOD IN THE PROTECTION OF HIS MAJESTY'S
SACRED PERSON, AND HIS KINGDOMS.*

*In the Shadow of thy Wings will I make my Refuge, until these
Calamities be over-past.*—Psalm lvii. ver. 1.

WHAT St. Hierom observed long since concerning this Book of Psalms, *Titulos esse claves*; that the title is usually the true key of David, to set open the Psalm to us, and to let us into the true understanding of it; he learned, probably, from a former author, (with whose writings he was in his younger years much delighted,) Origen† I mean: who, in his tomes upon the Psalms, discoursing of some obscurities in Holy Scripture, and the proper remedies thereof, gives us yet a more ancient tradition, which he received (as he saith) from a learned Jew; that the whole body of Scripture is like a great house, in which are several apartments, and therein many rooms shut up, and in them again

* On the occasion of the celebrated Popish Plot.

† Orig. Philocal. p. 59.

many cabinets and boxes locked down : nor hangs the proper key at every door, but they lie scattered here and there, and counter-changed ; so that it requires some pains and skill to find them out, and apply them aright. Thus, the key of the Prophetic Scripture lies in the historical, where we often find both the occasion of the prophecy, and the event too ; and that proves usually the best interpreter. Thus, the Acts of the Apostles, which contain the peregrinations and gests of St. Paul, are a great master-key to open his Epistles, and to unlock to us many things, hard otherwise to be understood in them. And thus, in the present instance, David's History is the proper key to David's Psalter ; and so the Books of Samuel, the Kings, and Chronicles, the best and most authentic commentary upon the Psalms.

For this now before us, lest we should mistake, the Spirit of God hath hung the key at the door, or at least pointed us whence to fetch it : and while the title dates it from the cave, we are plainly directed to 1 Sam. xxiv. There we find the holy man in a great strait of affliction ; wandering like an exile, or banditto, in the wilderness of Engedi ; the few men he had, straggling, and shifting for themselves upon the rocks of the wild goats ; implacable Saul, in the mean time, with five times his number, so closely pursuing him, that he is forced to take shelter in the cave : and there being shut up from the sight of Heaven, and light of the sun, and, as it were, buried alive in

that obscure dungeon, surrounded with danger on every side, and little hope left him of escaping with his life; it is then that he sighs out his *Altaschith*, (as this, and the two following Psalms are entitled,) *Oh destroy me not utterly* (so the word signifies) *but let me live to praise thy name*; it is then that, by a vigorous faith, he flies to the tender mercies of God, as to his only city of refuge: and, reposing himself in the bosom of the divine goodness by acts of faith and devotion, and of perseverance in both, he doth exactly and precisely that which we all are enjoined to do this day: he implores the mercies of God in the protection of himself, and in him of those that belong to him; Be merciful unto me, O God (saith he) be merciful unto me, for my soul trusteth in thee; yea, in the shadow of thy wings will I make my refuge, until these calamities be overpast.

So that, the proper business of this day being visibly stamped in great letters upon the forehead of the day, and that by the hand of Sacred Authority itself; and the lines of the text, too, running so parallel all along, and so commensurate to those of the day (upon which ground the whole Psalm was very pertinently selected as one of the proper Psalms for the office of the day :) I may hope in some degree to discharge my duty to both of them, by treating of those two things—what God's protection is; and what we are to do, that we may be qualified and prepared aright, successfully to implore the mercy of that protection. In

order whereunto, I will consider the text in a two-fold reference.

I. As it looks down from God to us-ward in gracious and powerful protections: and so it speaks our great honour and happiness, the high and glorious privilege of pious kings and their kingdoms, that they are under the shadow of God's wings.

II. As it looks up in another aspect from us to God again; and so it contains our necessary and indispensable duty; and calls aloud for our suitable deportment; which is resolvedly to put ourselves under the Divine protection, or to seek, and make our refuge under the shadow of his wings.

I. I begin with the high and glorious privilege of all holy souls, but especially of pious kings, and their kingdoms; they are under the shadow of God's wings. The expression frequently occurs in Scripture, and may seem to speak these three things, or some of them; which together will give you, I think, the full extent of the shadow of God's wings, the adequate importance of this illustrious metaphor.

1. Safeguard and defence from calamities, that they come not. Or,

2. Speedy help and deliverance out of calamities, when they are come. Or, however,

3. Comfort in the mean time, and refreshment in calamities, while they are upon us.

1. The privilege of safety and protection from calamities stand first in our method; intimated

here in a three-fold expression; a refuge, a shadow, and the shadow of wings.

1. And what is a refuge, (which is the first,) but a place of security, either in regard of its secrecy to hide us, or its strength to defend us, to which we fly when calamity threatens us? And such is God to his people; a city of refuge, an inviolable sanctuary; an altar of mercy, to which we may fly and be safe, and from the horns whereof no bold calamity shall dare to pluck us, without his special commission. Or, in another reference, a place of refuge is a covert from storm and rain, Is. IV. 6. and, as it follows there in the same verse,

2. A tabernacle for a shadow, too, in the day-time from the heat, which is the second expression. The emphasis whereof is far better understood in those intemperate climates, where the sunbeams are scorching, and the heats insufferable. Nothing there more desirable than a shady grove, or a deep grot the sun never looks into, or the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. Which protections, because the pilgrim Israelites wanted in the wilderness, God supplied it to them, by spreading a cloud over them for a covering in the day-time, (as the Psalmist* speaks,) and God was in that cloud; so that for forty years together they marched and encamped under his shady wings, I had almost said, without a meta-

* Psm. cv. 39.

phor. And still whenever the sun of persecution, or other calamity* ariseth upon us with burning heat, God can exempt whom he thinks good, and send them times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord : so that, while the world is all on fire about them, they journey through that torrid zone, with their mighty parasol, or umbrella over their heads, and are all the while in the shade.

And yet every shade is not a safe protection. *Umbra aut nutrix, aut noverca est*, saith Pliny:† and all the naturalists tell us, that the shadow of some trees is unwholesome; of others deadly. Aye, there is a shadow of death too in Scripture language; and you have heard of the shades of hell itself. And therefore, to distinguish this benign and saving protection from those black and dismal shades, here is yet a further and a higher emphasis;

3. It is, in the third place, *umbra alarum*, a shadow of wings: an expression borrowed from birds and fowls, that brood, and foster their young ones under them. The wing of the dam is both the midwife and the nurse; it brings forth the chickens, and it brings them up too. So Providence is both the womb that bare us, and the paps that give us suck. The wing is not only, as the shade, a protection from the heat, but a more universal defence against all the injuries, and inclemencies of the air. Is it too hot? the wing

* Jac. i. 11.

† L. 17. c. 12.

casts off a cold shade. Or is it too cold? the wing affords a warm covering. Are the younglings frightened with a storm? the wing is a ready shelter. Doth the kite, or hawk, the tyrants and freebooters of the air, hover over and threaten? the wing is a safe retreat. And thus *in sacris Domini defensionibus*, as Cassian speaks; in God and his holy protections we have all.

That our troubles are not long since grown too hot for us, it is because he cools and allays them. That our comforts do not grow cold, and die away in our bosoms, it is because he warms and reinforces them. That we have heard it bluster abroad for so many years together in a formidable tempest, which hath drenched and drowned so great a part of Christendom in blood, and yet the storm hath hitherto flown over us: that the clouds have been gathering at home too, and so long hung black over our heads, and yet not poured themselves forth in showers of vengeance: that Gebal, and Ammon, and Amalek, and the rest; that Hell, and Rome, and their partizans, our enemies on all hands, both foreign and domestic, have been so long confederate against us, saying, Come, and let us root them out, that they be no more a people, that the name of the Reformed Church of England may be no more in remembrance; that they have so often looked grim, and sour, and roared, and ramped upon us, and yet not been able to seize us: to what can we justly ascribe all this, but to the gracious protections of God's shady wings spread over us?

It is pity, brethren, we are not more deeply apprehensive of it, since so it is. We sit continually in the lap and arms of Providence : she is at once our fortress and our store-house : it is to her we owe both our defence and supplies ; our safety and our abundance : that we ever had any good thing in this world, whether personal or national, it is because we have sucked the breasts of her consolations : and that we keep and enjoy any thing, (while our soul is among lions, while we dwell in the midst of cruel and blood-thirsty men, as holy David complains a little below my text ;) it is because we sit under the shadow of her wings. And, since we are, for all this, so over apt to forget her, and to pride ourselves in bulwarks of our own projecting, God hath seemed oftentimes, and now again of late, to be about to dismantle all, and to teach us this lesson at the dearest rate, if we will not learn it better cheap ; That we cannot be safe out of his protection ; that the shadow of his wings is our best, nay our only refuge ; and that, whether we take a refuge for the protection of secrecy, or for the protection of strength. Of which much might be said, would the time permit it : but so much briefly of the first privilege, that of safeguard and protection from calamities, that they come not upon us. I haste to the second ;

2. If calamities do come, (and who is wholly exempt from that common tax, and tribute of mortality ?) the expression speaks assistance, too.

and timely deliverance out of them. Wings, in the common notion of the world, signify speed, and activity; τὸ τῆς προνοίας καὶ ἐπιφανείας ὀξύ,* as Theodoret speaks: God's speedy and efficacious Providence, and appearance in time of need to deliver his people. It is, therefore, that we give the winds wings, and the angels too; as being the swift messengers of God, the nimble Mercuries of Heaven. It is therefore, too, that when God appears seasonably to deliver his afflicted people, he is said in the Psalm† to mount a Cherub, and to fly, or to come flying to them upon the wings of the wind, or to carry them off into safety on the wings of an eagle. Birds do not only cover their young ones under their wings within the nest: if the seat prove dangerous, they take them up, too, on their wings, and carry them off to a safer station.

Ye have seen what I have done for you, (saith God to the Jewish nation,) † how I bare you upon eagles' wings, and brought you to myself. As if he had said, When you were in actual bondage, I rescued you; not only brooded you under my wings in Egypt, and preserved you by my Providence, while you were yet in the egg; but I hatched you, as it were, even in the iron furnaces of Memphis, into political life, and national being; and then brought you out safely, openly, triumphantly, (as the eagle doth her young,) and

* In 7 17. 8. & 18. 10. † Psm. xviii. 10. ‡ Ex. xix. 4.

brought you off, too, into a more prosperous condition.

And may not God bespeak us, too, the people of England, in the same language? When we were enslaved at home, (and so in worse than Egyptian slavery,) and our Pharaoh, and his proud task-masters, made even our lives bitter to us in hard bondage, in mortar, and in brick, to build up their own proud Babels; when they had now killed, and also taken possession, and divided the spoil, and said, in a frolic of their lusty pride, We have devoured them, and there is no hope for them in their God: then, on the sudden, as an eagle stirreth up her nest, and fluttereth over her young, and spreadeth abroad her wings, (as Moses* speaks in his admirable song,) thus awakening, and exciting their natural activity, and emboldening them to use it to the utmost; and when that will not do, taketh them up herself, and beareth them away upon her own wings: so here, the Lord alone did lead us, and there was no other with him; that is Moses's own reddition: when our own pinion proved too weak, and all our faint flutterings to no purpose; then, by a miracle of wisdom, power, and goodness, he took us up to that gallant and wonderful flight, even up to a higher pitch, than we durst look, and made us to ride upon the high places of the earth, and set our nest again amongst the stars.

* Deut. xxxii. 12.

And now, when restless and unquiet men (the true spawn of him whose tail drew the third part of the stars of Heaven,* and cast them to the earth,) would fain, by their hellish plots and contrivances, bring us down again from thence, even down to the very ground, and lay all our honour in the dust: when, by their secret machinations, they are at work on all hands to hurry us back into the old confusions; in hope that, out of that disordered mass, they may at length rear up a new world of their own; (but what a world? A world made up of a new Heaven of superstitions, and idolatries; a new earth, too, of anarchy first, and pretended liberty, but of tyranny insufferable at the next remove:) in such a dangerous state of affairs as this, whither should we rather (nay whither else can we) run for help and deliverance, but under his protections, the stretching out of whose wings fills the breadth of thy land, O England!† He can make all these cockatrice eggs, on which this generation of vipers (that eat out the bowels of their mother) have sat so long abroad, windy at last, and addle; and he will do it: so that out of the serpent's root shall never come forth an adder to bite us, or a fiery flying serpent to devour us. He will confound these Babel builders, with their city, and their tower, or temple, (their foreign polity, and their strange worship; their novel modes, and models of govern-

* Rev. xii. 4.

† Is. viii. 8.

ment in church and state,) and scatter them abroad from hence upon the face of all the earth. Like as a dream when one awaketh; so shall He despise their images, and their imaginations, too, and cause them to vanish out of the city; and make the whole bulk of their vast contrivance to consume away like a snail, and become like the untimely fruit of a woman, which shall never see the sun. He that at first made all things with an Almighty word, said only, *Let it be*, and it was so; can, with the same facility, unmake, and annihilate those worlds of wickedness, which these great architects of mischief have been so long projecting, and building up. It is but for Him to say, *It shall not prosper*, or *This shall not be*, and behold the mighty machine cracks about their ears, and sinks into ruin, into nothing; leaving no effect behind it more real or conspicuous, than a more firm, and lasting establishment of that, which God's own right hand hath planted amongst us.

When the earth* at first was without form, and void, and darkness hovered over the face of the deep, the spirit of God (saith the text) moved upon the waters. The word in the original† (as St. Hierom tells us from the Hebrew traditions) implies, that the Spirit of God sat abroad upon the whole rude mass, as birds upon their eggs, καὶ ὑπερέκειτο τὸ πᾶν,‡ (as a Greek author speaks elegantly,) and hatch the chaos into world; by de-

* Gen. 1. 2.

† מרחפת.

‡ Greek Schol on Aratus.

grees digesting, and in the mean time preserving and sustaining it by kindly heats, and vital incubations. And to the like benign and gracious purposes doth God still spread the wings of his good providence over his people and their affairs, in calamitous times, such as this is ; when he may seem to stretch out upon the political world the line of confusion, and the plummet of emptiness, (*Tohu* and *Bohu*, the very words which describe the first chaos,) as it is Is. xxxiv. 11. And if hereupon we put ourselves (as we ought) under the saving influences of his wings ; he will either digest our confusions into greater order and beauty than before, or at least support and cheer us while we lie under them ; which is the third and last privilege implied in this expression.

3. Comfort and refreshment in calamities, while they are upon us. For the wing is not only the retreat of safety from calamities, as in the first particular ; nor only the instrument of deliverance out of calamities, as in the second : it is also the seat of comfort, and the fountain of refreshment, when they lie heaviest upon us.

And here I might spend the hour with much delight ; for the prospect is fair and large before me. But I am sensible that I have already staid too long upon the first head of discourse propounded ; and so, perhaps, complied too much with the common humour, which loves rather to be tickled and amused with high privilege, than instructed in necessary duty. I shall, there-

fore, make haste to seize what remains of the time, and improve it, to let you see, that all I have said hitherto, and the much more I might have said, upon that first head of privileges, signifies nothing at all, is all blank and cypher to them that go not on cheerfully to the second, that of duty.

II. They that would be safe under God's wings, must not only please themselves with the general speculation, that safety and protection is there to be had : they must also make their refuge there, they must put themselves under the shadow of those wings by their special act and deed ; must deliberately choose and effectually place their last resort there ; and, if they will partake the benefits, must comply with the obligations of such a state. God is our refuge, and our strength, saith holy David,* most devoutly, and most methodically too : for we must first make him our refuge by flying to him, before we can hope that he will be our strength. In vain do they dream of God's saving protections, that turn their backs upon his precepts, and cast his laws behind them. It is true, God's altars are our sanctuary ; an inviolable asylum in our sufferings, and in our sorrows, in our calamities, and in our dangers, for our ignorances, and for our infirmities : but are our crimes too privileged and protected there ? That were indeed to turn God's temple into a den of thieves, and murderers, (the notorious abuse of the modern

* Psm. lxvi. 1.

sanctuaries;) and to set up the wing of abominations (spoken of by Daniel the Prophet) even in the holy place. Nay but pluck them from mine altars, (saith God,) or slay them there, that sin presumptuously, and with a high hand. God will not be so merciful to those that offend of malicious wickedness, as to receive them, with all their sins about them, under that sacred and saving protection. The holy dove broods not a kite, or a vulture : they are birds quite of another feather. If, in good earnest, we would be fostered and cherished under God's wings, we must first be hatched into his likeness and similitude, be renewed after his image, and be made partakers in some measure of the divine nature.

To hover no longer in generalities ; the fruitful metaphor of the text, as you have distinctly seen, is big with our privilege ; so to qualify us for that, it is as remarkably pregnant with our duty also. Among the rest, it clearly suggests to us in three noble instances of our duty, so many apt and proper qualifications to fit and prepare us for God's wing. 1. A pious trust and confidence in God. 2. A fervent devotion towards God, and his holy worship in his temple. And 3. A constant unwearied perseverance in both the former ; for it is *donec transierint*, until these calamities be overpast. And,

1. For trust and affiance in God : it is visible, that to fly under God's wings, and to make him our refuge, and to trust in him, are parallel

phrases, which expound one another; and differ only, as the same sense clad in metaphor, and stripped of it again. And therefore some versions, both ancient and modern, translate the text, *Under the shadow of thy Wings will I trust.** It were happy for us, were this duty of trust in God but as visibly transcribed into our practice, as it is originally legible in the text. We all pretend high, indeed, and put on a fair semblance here too; I believe in God, is our daily language: but, as one saith well, *Non est strepitus oris, sed fervor, et devotio cordis*: lip-labour will not serve the turn; it must go deeper, even to the ground of the heart. Would we put in, then, for David's share in the privilege, God's mercy, and protection to our king, and to ourselves? We must labour then for a trust like David's: Be merciful to me, O God, (saith he,) for my soul trusteth in thee.

To bring you to the test, then; the trust that may be trusted to, and that will stand us in stead, when calamities invade or threaten us, must have these three properties: it is founded and prepared in self-diffidence; it is carried on, and exercised in active diligence; and, lastly, it is consummate in full and perfect resignation.

First, It is founded and prepared in deep self-diffidence and distrust; in a clear abrenunciation of ourselves, and all worldly dependencies. The chickens are weak and helpless in themselves;

* Chald Engl. Gen.

and, as if they knew it too, stay not to combat the kite, nor stand the dreadful shock when the hawk hovers over, and is ready to stoop upon them, but run nimbly under the dam's wing for shelter. The very instincts of nature have taught all weak things to seek their support out of themselves, in some retreat, where they may be safe. Thus the fir-trees* are a refuge for the stork; the high hills for the wild goats; and the rocks for the conies. The hare hath her covert too, and the foxes their holes or dens. Even the weaker and groveling plants (as vines, and the like) have their tendrils, certain pliant strings, wherewith they naturally clasp and twine themselves about the supporters they are to climb by. In fine, all nature is wholly adjective, and, as if it were conscious to itself of its inability to stand alone, is ever in busy quest of its proper substantive that may uphold it. Man, as the only bad grammarian, makes still false syntax, and false construction; apt to seek his refuge where it is not to be had: as if he were under that curse upon David's enemies,† not only in case to beg his bread, which he finds not at home, but to seek it also out of desolate places.

Thus Jonah sits under his gourd with over-much delight, till the worms smite it at the roots, and it withers. Rebellious Israel‡ trusts in the shadow of Egypt, (the land shadowing with wings, as the Prophet speaks,) and it proves their confu-

* Psm. civ. 18.

† Psm. cix. 10.

‡ Isa. xxx. 3.

sion : and we have heard of Cedars of Lebanon, that degraded themselves into the protection of a bramble, till fire came out of that bramble and devoured them. We laugh at the Babel-builders, who designed a tower up to Heaven, above the reach of Divine vengeance, or any deluge of wrath that could come on them. But he had reason that said, *Totus mundus est plenus turrium Babyloniarum* : not only the plains of Shinar, the whole world is full of such towers. We all are apt to build castles in the air, some Νεφελοκοκκυγία, or other ; some city of cuckows in the clouds, like that in the Greek comedian.* We have all of us our gourds, and our brambles to trust in ; apt to canonize our own sanctity, and integrity ; to idolize our own strength and activity ; to defy our own wit and policy.

But if in good earnest we look toward the covert of God's wings, and would put in there, we must begin negatively ; first moult, and cast all our sick feathers, and clip the wings of all our carnal confidences, upon which we are apt to soar too loftily, before we can make good our flight. *Confringes ascellas*, (so the vulgar Latin reads that text, Levit. i. 17.) the sacrifice of birds is not accepted, till the wings be broken, that is (saith St. Cyril of Alexandria†) till our pride be mortified. God will take us off our false dependencies, and will have us clearly quit all (namely as to trust in

* Aristoph.

† De Adorat. lib. 16.

any of them) and run naked under his defence; and then we are fit for his wing. Say not, then, this great nation is a wise and an understanding people; we have counsel, and strength for the war; we are fenced and moated in from the rest of the world with the vast ocean; our island sits a queen in the heart of the four seas; she shall dwell in safety alone, and know no sorrow. Let not the mighty thus glory in their might, nor the wise in their wisdom; but he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.

And of this, holy David stands here before us a great example. He trusts not in the wings of his army, but in the Lord of hosts and battles; not in the shadow of his cave, but in the shadow of God's wings; not in the height of his rock, but in the rock of ages. Though, being a man of war, he well understood the grand importance of a castle well seated and fortified; of a mount or rock inaccessible; of a cave in that rock capacious and defensible, (such as Strabo tells us there were many in Palestine; and such were probably the cave of Adullam, and the strong holds of Engedi, and the rest, which we meet with so often in David's story :) yet severed and abstracted from the Divine protections, he slights all these, as paper walls, and cobweb fortifications: and knowing he could not be safe on this side Omnipotence, he styles God almost in every Psalm, his rock, and his castle, his fortress, and his stronghold, his high-tower, and the hill of his defence:

that is the first property of his trust; it begins in great self-diffidence: but,

Secondly. It goes on in active diligence. The young one hath its last retreat indeed under the dam's wing: yet the little wing it hath of its own, it employs to bring it thither. The eagle in Moses's song, as I noted before, not only bears its eaglets on her own wings, but stirs up her nest too, and provokes them first to do their uttermost.

Though David resolved well, *I will not trust in my bow; yet he used it sure. It was not Golia's sword that could save him; yet gladly he girt himself with it, when the High Priest reached it him. There is no king, saith he, that can be saved by the multitude of an host; yet he refused not the volunteers that came to list themselves under him. He fled from Saul with all diligence into the cave; though he had still a refuge beyond it. Though he sets up his rest under God's Wings; yet, †Oh, (saith he) that I had the wings of a dove too, that I might fly away to my rest.

The moral, and the reddition of all is but thus much. We all of us have wings of our own too; faculties, and abilities, that must be used (why else were they given us?) though they must not be trusted in. The most excellent Father Paul of the ‡Servi of Venice was libelled in the holy office (as they call it) for advising one that pre-

* Psm. xliv. 6. xxxiii. 16.

† Psm. lv. 6.

‡ See his Life.

tended to immediate inspirations and assistances, to use human means and industries, and so to expect God's blessing. But the inquisitors were for once so wise, as to absolve him without examination.

Our Psalmist states the matter well. *Trust in the Lord, saith he, but be doing good too, and so verily thou shalt be fed. Commit thy way unto the Lord, and he shall bring it to pass: but walk in it thyself; how is it else thy way? †Commit the keeping of thy soul, (saith the Apostle, and so, commend the keeping of the public too,) to God: but still *ἡ ἀγαθοποιία*, in well doing, in doing thy duty in thy station in all the instances of it.

In the age of miracles, indeed, when the sea divided, and suddenly turned green meadow; and when an angel went forth and dispatched so many thousands in a night: well might the watch-word be, stand still and see the salvation of God; the Lord shall fight for you, and ye shall do nothing. But the season is changed, and it is now—Come forth, and help the Lord against the mighty; and work out your own salvation, (and so the salvation of the nation too,) because it is God that works: that is St. Paul's logic.

We must not presume to use our Lord, as Herod did; call for him, when we please, to work us a fine miracle; neglect our affairs, and leave

* Psm. xxxvii. 3—5.

† 1 Pet. iv. ult.

them embroiled and ruffled on purpose that he may come down ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, to disentangle them.

The glory of God descends not visibly now a-days upon our palaces, as of old upon the Tabernacle of the Congregation, to rescue our Moses and Aaron from being massacred by a desperate knot of mutineers: nor doth the earth open her mouth any longer, to swallow up our rebels and traitors alive. It is a sceptre of ordinary justice, not a rod of wonders, that fills the hand of our governors. We must not expect that a good cause should work alone of itself by way of miracle: believe it, it must be prudently, and industriously managed too, or it must at last miscarry.

For instance, (the instance of the present time:) the devils of sedition and faction, of treason and rebellion, those familiars of Rome, and Rheims, and St. Omers, (the Jesuits I mean, that have so long possessed and agitated a wretched part of this nation) will never go out from hence, and leave us at quiet, no, not by prayer and fasting only. Nay, the best laws we have, the best you can make, (if they be not steadily, and severely executed) will prove too slight a conjuration for these sturdy evil spirits of disobedience. There is another and a better *Flagellum Dæmonum*, than that of *Hieronymus Mengis*, and his fellow exorcists. Holy water is a trifle; and holy words will not do it. There is no such thing as *Medicina per verba*: words and talk will never cure the distempers of a nation. Deaf adders refuse

all the voice of the charmer, charm he never so wisely. If, in good earnest, we would be rid of this legion, and say, as our Lord to the deaf and dumb spirit, go out, and enter no more; (what shall I say?—in short,) Solomon's rod* for the back of fools that grow troublesome or dangerous (as it may be prepared and managed) is a very powerful and effectual exorcism. Untamed horses, and skittish mules, that will have no understanding, are not edified at all by calm reasonings, and instructions and meek remonstrances; nor in any other method so well as by David's expedient; † *in freno et como*; their mouths must be kept in with bit and bridle, that it may not be possible for them to fall upon you; and so ye may be secure of them.

But the fitting up of David's bridle, and Solomon's rod, and the right use of both, is the business of another place. I shall resume the general thesis, and so shut up this particular. I say, then, they trust not in God, they presume and tempt him who work not together with him, but receive his aids in vain, and look that he should bring about in extraordinary manner, what they take no care of themselves; but lie flat upon their backs looking upward, and will stir neither hand nor foot to help themselves. Nay, but ‡ *Viriliter agite, et confortabit cor*, as it is in the Psalm; play the men yourselves, do all that you can or ought

* Prov. xix. 29.

† Psm. xxxii. 9.

‡ Psm. xxxi. 24.

to do, within your proper sphere; and so God will strengthen your hearts, all ye that put your trust in the Lord. Wings, as they are the covert of safety, so also the emblems of diligence, and the instruments of activity: and as they show us our privilege, may teach us also this part of our duty,—to trust only in God's wings, but to use our own too; that is the progress of David's trust; it goes on in active diligence.

Thirdly. It is consummate (as in the last act) in clear, and perfect resignation to God's good pleasure in the event, whatever it be. They trust not in God entirely, and as they ought, that rely only on his power, and dare not submit to his wisdom also; that would gladly engage Omnipotence on their side (and can you blame them?) but then they would manage it their own way, and in methods of their own contriving, and to ends, it may be, far distant from what God hath appointed: as if he would work journey-work under them, and leave them to be masters of the great shop of the world. No; but as Luther said well, when his friend Melancthon troubled himself over-much at some cross events; *Desinat Philippus esse Rector Mundi*: it is God alone, who sits in heaven, and doth whatever pleaseth him. If we be not content with the portion he allots us, but will needs be carving for ourselves elsewhere, or otherwise: or if we be not satisfied with his conduct of the affairs of the world, but think, with the great Alphonso, that we could mend the sys-

tem: what is this but in effect to turn our backs upon God, and to set up for ourselves upon our own wretched stock, and implicitly at least to renounce the shadow of his wings, and all the privileges of it? *Pulli non prospiciunt*, saith one: young birds have no designs or forecasts of their own, but are wholly under the dam's conduct. And if we are allowed to have any ourselves, be they never so deeply laid, or so wisely contrived; so skilfully managed, or so vigorously pursued; we must at last entirely submit, and sacrifice them all to that sovereign wisdom and power, which ruleth in the kingdoms of men, and orders them in all things according to the good pleasure of his will.

To sum up, then, this whole great duty of affiance in God, with all the parts and branches of it; he trusts regularly in God, that trusts in nothing else, first: and yet, secondly, doth every thing he can, or is obliged to do by his duty: and thirdly, when he hath done all, sits down at last under the shadow of God's wings, and waits the success in faith and hope, with perfect resignation to God's wise and just appointment in all things! that is the first duty implied in the expression, a pious trust, and confidence in God. The second is an ardent and flaming devotion towards God, and his holy worship and service in his temple: *Under the shadow of thy Wings will I make my refuge*; it is certainly an allusion to the Holy of Holies, where was the Ark of the Covenant, the

symbol of God's gracious presence, over which the cherubim of glory stretched forth their wings on high, and shadowed the mercy-seat :* between which wings was God's dwelling-place, his Shekinah, or majestic presence. And therefore when Ruth the Moabitess became proselyte to the Jewish religion and worship, she is said to come to trust under the wings of the God of Israel, Ruth ii. 12.

There are also *Alæ Ecclesiarum*, which we meet with in church-writers ; as we corruptly call them the isles of churches ; and in the Gospel itself *πτερύγια τῆς Ἱερῆς*, *pinnacles*, or (if we will render it close and just) *wings of the temple* : from the saving covert and protection whereof, as it is the devil's business to tempt and withdraw us, and so to cast us down from one of our noblest heights and defences : so, on the contrary, holy David's great example here, and the clear importance of the words of my text, lead us directly thither, (that is the last and most illustrious resort of the expression,) and bring us up with boldness to seek, and make our refuge even under the wings of the cherubim of glory.

And, indeed, where can we find on earth so safe, or so comfortable a retreat, when calamities assail, or threaten us, as here in the house of our God ? doth not his cross stand over it on purpose to direct us hither, when we are ready to sink

* Exod. xxv. 20. xxix. 5.

under the burthen of our own? When God's judgments are abroad in the world, and the avenger of our sins pursues us; more particularly, when the land is moved and divided; when the pillars thereof shake and tremble, and the foundations are ready to be cast down; when all things are in ferment, and in commotion round about us, and men's hearts ready to fail them for fear, and for looking after those things which are coming upon the earth; where should we rather take sanctuary, where can we more probably find help, and redress, than at the altar of the God of mercy, and under the shadow of the wings of his mercy-seat?

This was holy David's steady resolve, when his heart was overwhelmed, as he speaks, Psal. lxi. 2. I will abide in thy tabernacle for ever; I will trust (or, I will make my refuge) in the covert of thy wings, ver. 4: and when his afflictions put him beside that guard, set him at distance from those happy opportunities, took him down from those blessed heights; yet still, even at the lowest, * I will lift up mine eyes, saith he, to the hills, (at least cast a long look toward Sion) from whence cometh my help. This was the sting of all his sorrows, as it were the calamity royal he so groans under, almost in every Psalm; not that Saul, or Absalom had driven him from his own, but from God's House. Though the Holy Land was of no

* Psm. cxxi. 1.

large extent : yet, as if he had been banished to the Antipodes, From the ends of the earth, saith he, have I cried unto thee, Psal. lxi. 2. Though his devotion consecrated every place he came into ; turned the cave into a chapel, and the wilderness of Judah into holy ground ; and I had almost said, even Gath of the Philistines into a holy city ; (for we have Psalms dated from every one of these ;) yet still he sighs, Oh restore me, Oh bring me, Oh set me up upon a rock that is higher than I : he means, without doubt, the Hill of Sion, the Pico of Jewry, where God's house was established upon the tops of the mountains, as the prophet speaks, Isa. ii. 2.

Men, and brethren, you that make up the more popular part of this mixed audience ; let me freely speak to you of the Patriarch David, and of yourselves. Blessed be the mercies of God, you lie under no such restraint, or interdict, as he did : you are not banished into the wilderness, nor shut up in the cave : the doors of God's house stand open to you, if you please ; and the wings of his mercy are stretched out wide to invite, and receive you ; would you but come in, and put yourselves under the shadow of them. Let it not be said, that your curiosity, or some worse humour, leads you quite another way : that you are over careful, and troubled about many things, which belong not to you, while you neglect the one thing necessary, the great duty of this, and of every day ; namely, to implore God's mercy

and protection upon the king and his kingdoms, and His direction and blessing upon the public counsels. Let my counsel, I pray, be acceptable unto you. Study to be quiet, and to do your own business : and that lies not in the court, or in the palace, but here in the temple. It is not to listen at the doors of the two Houses of Parliament, or to eves-drop the Council-Chamber ; but to wait in your proper stations with modesty and patience, what avises and commands are sent you from thence, and to comply with them. Instead of thronging and pestering the galleries and avenues of those places, where matters of state are upon the table ; what a blessed appearance were it in times of danger, such as this is, to see the church doors always open, and the great stream and shoal of people continually flowing thither ; and to find some of you always upon the floor there, Weeping between the porch and the altar, and saying, Spare thy people, O Lord, and give not thy heritage to reproach. Thou hast brought up a vine out of Egypt : Thou hast cast out the heathen, and planted it. Let not the wild boar out of the wood root it up, nor the wild beast of the field devour it. Let thy hand be upon the man of thy right hand, whom thou hast made so strong for thyself. Keep him, as the apple of thine eye ; hide him under the shadow of thy wings. Let his days be many, and his reign prosperous ; and under his shadow let both church and state long flourish : and let them be

confounded, and driven backward, as many as have evil will at Sion.

To furnish out an office for such daily devotions, it is but to take your Psalter along with you in your hand, which is full of them. But especially let me commend to you that decad of Psalms, which begins with the 54th, and so on: which may seem to have been put together on purpose for such an occasion. This would be indeed effectually to transcribe holy David's copy, in this his exemplary and ardent devotion: which is the second duty required in the text, to prepare us for the protection of God's wing. There is but one more behind; and that is

3. Constant perseverance in both the former.

In the two former you have seen holy David putting himself under the shadow of God's wings, and making good his refuge there, by acts of faith and devotion. And being once there, no storm shall beat him off, no discouragement shall drive him away, no delay shall weary him out. If God kills him, it is all one, he will trust in him still, and die in his arms: for here he hath set up his rest, and *donec transierint*, he is steadily resolved; his refuge is, and shall be, here, till these calamities are over-past.

But here we must take heed of a great mistake. There are, that hold the *donec* in the text too hard and stiff; are too punctual and precise with God in it: who will trust in him, it may be, and ply their devotions just so long, as till the cala-

mity be past : but then on the sudden their trust grows feeble, and their devotion cold, and heartless : No sooner delivered, but, like old Israel, they forget God at the sea, even at the Red Sea ; —use him like Themistocles's planetrees, under which men run for shelter in storm ; but the shower once over, they pluck off the branches, turn their backs, and away.

Nay, but there is in Scripture language an infinite and an interminable *donec*, which never expires. * He knew her not, till she brought forth ; nay, he never knew her. In spite of Helvidius, ἀνπαρθένος, (as the Greek church style her) a virgin before, and in, and after the birth of our Lord, and for ever. Aye, that's the virgin's soul indeed, that keeps ever close to her heavenly spouse : not only runs under his wings for shelter, when calamities affright her, saying, Spread thy skirt over me, and then strays away again, as soon as ever the flattering calm, and sunshine of prosperity tempts her abroad. As our Lord hath given us an everlasting *donec* : Lo I am with you, saith he, till the end of the world : (not that he will leave us then, but take us yet nigher unto himself, and so we shall ever be with the Lord, as the Apostle speaks :†) so must we also have one for him of the same latitude and extension. For ever under the shadow of his wings ; till this single tyranny, as in the old translation—all these calamities, as in

* Matth. i. ult.

† 1 Thess. iv. 17.

the new—or as the Hebrew implies, till all and every of our calamities be over-past. Both before, and in, and after calamities, still under the shadow of God's wings. While they last, it is *In the shadow of thy wings will I trust*: and when they are passed, it is *In the shadow of thy wings will I rejoice*; that is all the difference. As the scenes shift, our devotion must improve, and advance too; till our prayer be heightened into praise, (as I trust ere long it will be,) our hope swallowed in enjoyment, and our trust sublimated, and made to flower up into joy and triumph: when the same God that raised David from the cave to the throne, shall translate us also from the shadow of his wings into the light of his countenance: to the Beatifical Vision whereof he of his mercy bring us, who hath so dearly bought it for us, Jesus Christ the Righteous: to whom with thee, O Father, and God the Holy Ghost, be ascribed of us, and all the creatures in heaven and earth, blessing, honour, glory, and power, both now, and for evermore. AMEN.

APPENDIX, No. V.

CONTAINING

TWO ORIGINAL LETTERS

OF

DR. SANDERSON.

FROM A MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF LETTERS OF EMINENT PERSONS, MADE BY ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.
(SEE LAMBETH MANUSCRIPTS, v. 595.)



- I.—ON THE RELATIVE MERITS OF THE PRESBYTERIANS AND INDEPENDENTS.—*See reference to it*, vol. i. p. 61.
- II.—ON THE MEASURE OF OBEDIENCE TO BE PAID TO AN USURPED AUTHORITY.—*See reference to it*, vol. i. p. 62.



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LETTER I.

Dr. Sanderson to N. N., respecting the relative Merits of the Presbyterians and the Independents.

10th April, 1649.

SIR,

I THANK you for the loan of your book (Robert Baillie's Dissuasive from Error). The author is not the same man I thought, but another of the same name, and a strong Presbyterian: who, as he hath sufficiently discovered the absurdity of some of the Independent opinions considered apart, and by themselves; so I cannot but admire (but that I see by every day's experience how grossly, out of affection to their preconceived fancies, men, otherwise understanding enough, are blinded with prejudices) how the author could choose but see, that most of the assertions both of Brownists and Independents, are but the natural conclusions and results of their own premises. These kind of writings do exceedingly confirm me in my old opinions; *scilicet*, that, the grounds of our busy reformers supposed true, either of these ways is infinitely more rational, and defensible, and more consentaneous to the principles whereon the endeavours of reformation are built, than the Presbyterian way is. This, methinks, I durst adventure to make clear to the understanding of any rational man, in very many

of the erroneous tenets and practices mentioned by this author; and, namely, in these twenty following.

1. That they separate from the Church of England, as idolatrous in the worship, Anti-christian in the government, and profane in the members.
2. That they refuse all Church Communion, and membership with and in all the reformed churches in the world, even the Presbyterian also.
3. That they acknowledge no national, or otherwise visible, churches, than those of particular congregations.
4. That they admit none, as members of their congregational church, which cannot give a sufficient assurance to the whole congregation that they are in a state of grace.
5. That neither king nor parliament, nor any civil magistrate, hath any power to order matters of religion, worship, or discipline.
6. That all church power is in the people, either alone, or jointly with their officers.
7. That ecclesiastical causes and censures are not to be determined by the greater number of voices, but by the full and unanimous consent of all that have right to vote.
8. That the celebration of marriage belongs to the magistrate, not to the minister.
9. That they allow not any human directories for worship.
10. Nor the usual names of the days and months.
11. Nor the calling of their meeting places, churches.
12. Nor singing of Psalms, unless by a singing prophet extempore.
13. Nor the maintenance of ministers by tithes, glebes, or set stipends, but only by voluntary

contributions. 14. Nor the baptizing of infants, save only such whose immediate parents are actually members of their congregational church. 15. That they celebrate the Lord's Supper at night, after the other ordinances ended. 16. That it is expedient to sit covered at the Lord's table. 17. That it is no more lawful to preach or administer the Sacraments in a black gown than in a white surplice. 18. That they allow men of any calling to prophesy, and exercise their gifts in the congregation. 19. That they may excommunicate any magistrate, (yea, the king himself not excepted,) being a member of their church, for any error or fault, either in belief or life. 20. That the magistrate cannot make any permanent laws concerning any thing which God's word hath left at liberty.

These twenty points, with sundry others of theirs, and of the Anabaptists, yet grosser than theirs, as I hold them very absurd, false, and dangerous, so I verily believe them all to be very clearly justified by the Presbyterian's and Non-conformist's grounds. I therefore heartily wish that the forward Reformers would impartially review their own dictates, before they cry down either Brownists, Independents, or even the Anabaptists themselves, lest they choke them with the Proverb, *Medice, cura teipsum*. If their teeth be set on edge by the sourness of the fruit, why should they complain, or who will pity them, so long as they cherish the root that bred it, and

feedeth it? For my own part, since I came to any knowledge at all, or experience of the church differences, I have ever professed, and must still do, that, if I saw ground enough to make me a Smectymnion, I know not what could stay me, but I must on to Brownism, or Independency, or God knows what other unborn fancy, if not rather to absolute Anabaptism, or something beyond it, unless I would renounce my own reason, and sin against my conscience.

Truly, when I have well considered of them, I find no security at all, either in Popish or Puritanical principles. Yet, of the two, Popery hath this advantage, that it keeps the proselyte (though with insufferable tyranny, yet) confined within some limits and bounds, like water shut up within the banks of a muddy unsavory lake: whereas this wild thing, for want of a more proper name commonly called Puritanism, like a sea-breach, runs itself into a thousand channels, and knows not where to stop. When we have wrangled ourselves as long as our wits and strengths will serve us, the honest, downright sober English Protestant will be found, in the end, the man in the safest way, and by the surest line: who,

1. Maketh the written word of God the sole and perfect rule of all matters properly of faith, and of all the essentials of God's worship, and of Church government.

2. As for all matters of ceremony and order, and other accidental forms and circumstances be-

longing either to church government, or worship, he leaves the particular determination thereof (as of all political ordinances) to the civil and ecclesiastical governor respectively.

3. But in all other matters, whether of opinion in points of smaller importance or not clearly revealed; or of practice in things not commanded nor forbidden by any higher power, he useth the liberty of his own judgment and discretion, (leaving all others also to do the like,) according to the general rules of Christian sobriety and charity.

In this religion I have lived hitherto (by the grace of God) not without comfort; and in this religion (the same grace assisting me) I hope to die: and so, living and dying, if my walking swerve not from my professions, I know that, by His mercy, I shall not miscarry.

Your neighbour and brother in Christ,

R. SANDERSON.

LETTER II.

Dr. Sanderson to N. N., on the Obedience to be paid to an usurped Authority.

SIR,

UPON perusal of Mr. Ascham's book* you left with me, I find not myself in my under-

* The following is the title of the book here referred to; "A Discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Governments: or, how far a

standing convinced thereby of the necessity or lawfulness of conforming unto, or complying with, an unjust prevailing power, further than I was before persuaded it might be lawful or necessary so to do; viz. paying taxes, and submitting to some other things (in themselves not unlawful) by them imposed, or required, such as I had a lawful liberty to have done in the same manner, though they had not been so commanded, and seem to me, in the conjuncture of present circumstances, prudentially necessary to preserve myself, or my neighbour, from the injuries of those that would be willing to make use of my non-submission, to mine or his ruin. So as it be done, 1. Without any violation either of duty to God, or of any other just obligation that lies upon me by oath, law, or otherwise. 2. Only in the case of necessity not otherwise to be avoided. 3. Without any explicit or implicit acknowledgment of the justice or legality of their power. I may submit to the *Δυναμεις*, but not acknowledge the *εξουσια*, or by any my voluntary act give strength, assistance, or countenance thereunto. 4. Without any prejudice unto the claim of the oppressed party, that hath a right title; or casting myself into an incapacity of lending him my due and bounden assistance, if, in time to come, it may be useful to him toward the recovery of his right.

Man may lawfully conform to the Powers and Commands of those who, with various Successes, hold Kingdoms divided by Civil or Foreign Wars." By Anthony Ashcam, Gent. London. 1648.

5. Where I may reasonably and bona fide presume that the oppressed power, to whom my obedience is justly due, if he perfectly knew the present condition I am in, together with the exigence and necessity of the present case, and of all the circumstances thereof, would give his willing consent to such conformity or compliance. So that, upon the whole matter, and in short, I conceive I may so far submit to the impositions, or comply with the persons of a prevailing usurped power, unjustly commanding things in themselves not unlawful, or make use of their power to protect me from others' injuries, as I may submit unto, comply with, or make use of, a highway thief or robber, when I am fallen into his hands, and lie at his mercy.

As for Mr. Ascham's discourse, though it be handsomely framed, yet all the strength of it, to my seeming, lies upon two principles, which, if he would speak out, would be in plain English these:—

1. That self-preservation is the first and chiefest obligation in the world, to which all other chief obligations (at least between man and man) must give place.

2. That no oath, (at least no imposed oath) in what terms soever expressed, binds the taker further than he intended to bind himself thereby; and it is to be presumed, that no man intended to bind himself to the prejudice of his own safety.

Two dangerous and desperate principles, which

evidently tend to the taking away of all Christian fortitude, and suffering in a righteous cause; to the encouraging of daring and ambitious spirits to attempt continual innovations, with this confidence, that if they can by any ways, how unjust soever, possess themselves of the supreme power, they ought to be submitted unto; to the obstructing unto the oppressed party all possible ways and means, without a miracle, of ever recovering that just right, of which he shall have been unjustly dispossessed; and (to omit further instancing) to the bringing in of Atheism, with the contempt of God and all religion; whilst every man, by making his own preservation the measure of all duties and actions, makes himself thereby his own idol.

THE END.

London : Printed by C. Roworth,
Bell-yard, Temple-bar.

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